The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1888.

The Week.

THE final outcome of the Chinese Treaty trouble is a fresh illustration of the President's luck. The very day he found himself confronted by the question what to do with the Exclusion Bill passed by Congress, the news came that the Chinese Government had definitively refused to ratify the treaty. This refusal is entirely justified by the facts. China did ratify the treaty as originally negotiated. The Senate put amendments into it expressly designed to secure its final rejection by the Chinese, and thus put the President "in a hole." It was almost certain that this design would succeed, but Congress would not wait to see whether it succeeded or not. They actually went to work before hearing from China to legislate as if the treaty had been already rejected by China, and the bill passed and was in the President's hands before China had been heard from. He consequently was on the point of having to choose between vetoing a bill for which there is an undoubted popular demand, and becoming the instrument of offering an insult to a friendly Power such as has not been heard of in the intercourse of civilized nations since the Middle Ages, except as a preliminary to war. It is only the Barbary States of North Africa which have in our day ever treated a friendly Government as Congress proposed to treat China. The rejection of the treaty by China has delivered the President from this dilemma, but it has not saved the country from the discredit of the whole affair.

On Wednesday week Gen. Harrison gave a more precise exposition of his views regarding the surplus than he gave in his letter of acceptance. Apparently, he looks upon the revenue as a fixed sum, instead of an elastic quantity, so that if the income should be reduced below the expenditure until the present surplus is worked off, it would be necessary to increase the taxes a few years hence in order to make both ends meet. This would not be a dreadful thing to do. It would be much better than to go on collecting more money than is needful, since the existence of a surplus is a moving cause of profligate expenditure and personal corruption. What the country most needs now is a *deficit*, as an enforcement to economy. But we must remind Mr. Harrison that the revenue is a progressively increasing sum, even on a given scale of taxation. It increases with the growth of population, and still more with the increase of wealth. All our taxes being taxes on consumption, the national income grows with the number of consumers and also with their means. Hence the dilemma that he presents to the Democratic party is altogether fantastic and imaginary. "If a Government bond *at the market premium* is a good investment for a capitalist who is free to use his money as he pleases, can it be bad finance for the Government, having money that it cannot use in any other way, to use it in buying up its bonds?" says Gen. Harrison. The gist of his argument is embraced in this sentence, and the chief blunder is here also. It consists in assuming that "the market premium" is an investment premium as to which capitalists and the Government stand on an equality, just as they would in respect of railroad bonds, bank shares, mining shares, Western Union Telegraph stock, and the whole list of securities offered for sale. The fact is, that the market premium is made by the Government's purchases. It is no longer an investment premium. The bond market is cornered. Everybody in Wall Street knows this. The situation is such that it must be cornered. The inducement to corner it is overwhelmingly strong. There being one buyer whose means are unlimited and whose necessities are absolute, and there being a political party, with Gen. Harrison at its head, preventing curtailment of the revenue, and urging bond purchases to get rid of the surplus, all the conditions of a corner and a "squeeze" are pat to the hand of the bond speculators. That is the situation to-day, and what has been the result? The premium on the 4 per cent. bonds has marched steadily upward from 125 or 126 to 130, at which price $3,000,000 have just been taken to avoid a pinch in the money market and to avert a crisis. Upwards of $16,000,000 of *surplus* came into the Treasury in the single month of August. The enormous sum of nearly $10,000,000 has been disbursed by the Government in *premiums* since the 30th of June, 1887.

Gen. Harrison, in a speech at Indianapolis last Saturday, entertained his hearers with some extracts from an English book entitled 'The American Union,' written by a man named Spence, published twenty-six years ago, which he considered of great importance to the citizens of the United States at the present time. It appears that Spence in 1862 took a very unfavorable view of the North in our civil war, and wanted the South to succeed, because the South was for free trade. "I have read those extracts," said Gen. Harrison, "because they seemed to me very suggestive and very instructive. The South offered free trade to Europe in exchange for an expected recognition of their independence by England and France. The offer was very attractive and persuasive to the ruling classes of England. They took Confederate bonds and sent out armed cruisers to prey upon our commerce. They dallied with Southern agents, fed them upon illusive hopes, and thus encouraged the South to protract a hopeless struggle." All this is very sad stuff for a sober-minded man in this present year of grace. Mr. James Spence was an utterly insignificant person, a Liverpool cotton broker, we believe. While he was blowing his pig's whistle, such English free-traders as Bright, Cobden, Mill, and Cairnes were energetically upholding the cause of the North by tongue and pen; and while rich Liverpool cotton brokers were aiding in fitting out Confederate cruisers, the suffering cotton spinners of Lancashire were holding meetings and passing resolutions of sympathy with the cause of the Union. But Gen. Harrison has no recollection of the really great men of England in that crisis, or of the heroic operatives who sided with the North. Nor does he give any heed to the Queen and the Prince Consort, who forbade any concession to Louis Napoleon's scheme for recognizing the Confederacy. He only sees a forgotten book by a forgotten author named Spence.

In spite of the caustic appeals which have been made to Mr. Herbert Radclyffe, Secretary of the Home Market Club of Boston, to induce him to stop the further circulation of the familiar forged extracts from the English papers, he was at last accounts still sending them out by the ton, and was maintaining, in all his replies to remonstrances, that free wool or any other modification of the present tariff meant "ruin" in the interest of British free trade. Yet in a speech which this same Mr. Radclyffe made, no longer ago than 1878, he set forth with great force and truth the benefits which would accrue to this country could our manufacturers get their raw material free. We have seldom seen the case stated more concisely than Mr. Radclyffe put it in this speech: "Whatever tax is upon wool must go upon the goods, must restrict the market for such goods, and must reduce the profit. . . . Give the wool manufacturer his wool at as low a cost as possible, and he will sell his goods at a profit. It will undoubtedly improve his business. Take any manufacturing business, I don't care whether it consumes wool or iron or steel or lumber—whatever the manufacturer uses as a raw material he needs to obtain at as low a rate as possible." Finally, Mr. Radclyffe gives us a British view which sums up the whole matter: "England tried this matter of *false protection by a tax on raw material*. She protected her manufacturers, and placed a high duty on raw materials; but England saw there was no profit in that, and accordingly the protection was reduced upon the manufactured goods and taken off entirely from the raw material, and *at once the manufacturing interests of Great Britain brightened, and it will be so in this country whenever that is done here.*" Now will Mr. Radclyffe publish this speech on a card, illuminate it with a British flag, and circulate that as widely as he has his forgeries and lies?

Mr. Woodburn, Congressman from Nevada, was moved by the success of Congressman Butterworth's experiment to remember

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something that he saw in the London *Times* a few years since. This is his recollection, produced in a speech made May 5, 1888:

"A few years since the following paragraph appeared in the London *Times:*

"'A subscription was recently opened to raise funds to circulate free-trade tracts in foreign countries. About £40,000 ($200,000) was subscribed. Some of these tracts are to be printed in New York for circulation in the United States. In addition to the above, $47,000 was subscribed by foreign bankers and importers of this city whose names are in our possession.'"

We need hardly say that this is a lie, and the presumption is that it was invented by Mr. Woodburn. It bears almost every mark of Woodburn, and not one of the London *Times*. No such subscription was ever "opened," and the London *Times* could therefore have made no such announcement unless it desired to court shame and humiliation. The "paragraph" was undoubtedly concocted in Nevada, or thereabouts. The wonder is the Home Market Club has not got hold of it by this time, and we respectfully call their attention to it as a robust and hardy lie suited to poor and squalid neighborhoods.

Six of the professors of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Ct., most, if not all of whom have been Republicans, have announced their intention of voting for Cleveland this time. We believe the right of professors at universities to vote any ticket but the Republican has long been questioned by high-tariff doctors, because professors, being "theorists" merely, and unacquainted with practical business, are unfit to change their party allegiance; because it is wicked to vote any but the Republican ticket, and therefore a pernicious example to the youths they have in charge; and because it is ungrateful to the various high-tariff men and manufacturers who have at various times given donations to universities or founded them. The conduct of these Wesleyan professors will therefore cause pain and horror in many a counting-room, and will cause many a "clear-headed business man" to ask himself: "What is the use of colleges, anyhow?" We can suggest no remedy except a university test, like the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles which used to be exacted at Oxford and Cambridge. Give no professorship to any man who is not prepared to sign adhesion to the present tariff and promise to teach it in his lecture-room and in his own family, without criticism or revision.

A remarkable case of political blackmail and blackguardism is the letter addressed to Mr. Thos. M. Osborne, a manufacturer of agricultural implements in Auburn, N. Y., by one Robinson, editor of the Indianapolis *Reporter*. Robinson takes leave to tell Mr. Osborne that he has been informed that he (Osborne) "a former Republican," intends to vote for Cleveland, and that if this is the fact he shall expose him (Osborne) to the farmers of the West as an enemy of American industry and a friend of the British, and all that—meaning, of course, to start a boycott on his trade. He adds that he is informed that Mr. Osborne is the only manufacturer of agricultural implements in the country who holds this unpatriotic position. Therefore he intends to make an example of him. It will be well for Robinson to keep out of the jurisdiction of this State after writing such a letter, because he is liable to be indicted under the boycotting law. Aside from the gross impertinence and blackguardism of the performance, the political economy of Robinson's letter is most wonderful. He assumes that the agricultural classes of the United States, who sell their staple products at Liverpool prices less the cost of transportation, and buy their supplies and tools subject to a tariff tax of 47 per cent., are the real beneficiaries of the tariff, and that they will be so outraged by the goings on of Mr. Osborne that they will stop buying his machines at a word from Robinson of Indianapolis. Why have not the farmers of the West long since boycotted the McCormick Works at Chicago and the Aultman & Taylor Works at Mansfield, O., two nurseries of free trade far exceeding in importance those of Mr. Osborne at Auburn, N. Y.?

Amid the chorus of lamentation about the destructive effects of the Mills bill, which the Republicans say they will not allow to pass, it is pleasant to note that the Dr. Jaeger Sanitary Woollen Co., whose goods are made in Stuttgart, Germany, we believe, announce in a circular that, "*mindful of the possibilities of tariff legislation during the coming year*," they have decided to make *a general reduction of 25 per cent.* immediately from their present catalogue prices. These goods are both popular and costly. The duty on them is 10 cents per pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem, the whole being equivalent to 62 per cent. ad valorem. A voluntary reduction of 25 per cent., in advance of any tariff change, will be welcomed by a great many people, and will not be looked upon as destructive of any American industry, since this class of goods is not made in the United States. Glancing at the names of the benevolent directors of the Jaeger Sanitary Woollen Company, the first one on the list, we observe, is that of the Hon. S. V. White, Republican Congressman from Brooklyn. What will Mr. White have to say for himself when interrogated about this circular, which anticipates tariff legislation in the direction of lower duties "during the coming year," and puts down prices 25 per cent. in consequence thereof? Why is Mr. White lending his countenance to this foreign concern anyway?

A correspondent, writing on the subject of steel rails, argues as follows:

"If I can understand figures at all, when we pay $32.50 per ton to our own mills, Uncle Sam has the rails *and* the $32.50 also. Can you say nay? When we send $22.50 abroad, we only have the rails. Can you say nay?"

Of course this logic ought to hold good as to *any* variation of prices between the two countries and as to any articles; as, for example, if the foreign price were one cent per ton and the American price $1,000 per ton, or if, the article being tea, the foreigner charged 25 cents per pound and the American producer $25 per pound. Or again, if the foreigner gives us a hundred tons of rails for nothing, we have in that case 100 tons plus $3,250. If we buy the same from Mr. Carnegie, we have the same result, viz.: 100 tons of rails plus $3,250. So we reach the conclusion that the heaping of gifts upon us would add nothing to our wealth. Do you say that the case is not a supposable one? Then take an actual one. After the great Chicago fire a number of British authors and publishers sent several hundreds of volumes of books to that city to form the nucleus of a new public library. These were worth, we will say, $10,000. Now, if the city of Chicago had ordered those books from American publishers, the country would have had the books plus the $10,000. But that is exactly what the country had after the English books came. The city of Chicago had her own $10,000 plus the books. So you see that there must be some fault in your argument, as otherwise it was no advantage to the country, as a whole, to receive this present of books, and it would be none if a similar present had been made to every town in the United States, or to every individual, for that matter. The fault in the argument lies in assuming that the American rail-maker, or the tea-grower, or the book-publisher, would have been idle and doing nothing to add to his own wealth, and thereby to the country's wealth, if he did not have a law compelling the public to pay him more for his goods than they are worth in a free market. We have heard the boast made, and we believe it to be a fact, that Mr. Carnegie can make steel rails in Pennsylvania cheaper than any *other* Englishman or Scotchman can make them in any other part of the world. Another defect of our correspondent's argument, by the way, is, that it holds equally good whether Mr. Carnegie can make rails at a profit at $22.50 per ton or not, and that it is equally valid, as regards the national wealth, if he charges $50 per ton for what costs him only $22.50. We might say much more, but it is always best to leave something to the pupil's ingenuity and original powers.

The need of an educational bill in the United States Senate is rather forcibly illustrated by some remarks made by Senator Blair of New Hampshire the other day on the Copper Trust. Senator Platt of Connecticut had introduced a resolution to investigate this Trust, the chief seat of whose operations is in Paris. Mr. Blair thought that this was a fitting occasion to show that the tariff might be employed to circumvent the Trust. So he said:

"The foreign syndicate controlling the production of the entire world, of course, would furnish the only purchaser of the production of the United States; but if in some way the operations of the foreign syndicate could be excluded from the United States, the United States producer would have the market of the United States; and in controlling the market of the United States he might find the natural employment of his capital and his labor in the production, in this instance, of copper. But if the foreign syndicate is beyond the legislative control of the United States, he is left at liberty to contract with

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the American producer, and the American producer is forced to contract with him in order to find a market, because the foreign syndicate may undersell the American producer, unless he chooses to sell to the foreign syndicate, and thus ruin the American producer unless the American producer of copper finds his protection against that foreign competitor by the protective tariff."

In other words, the Calumet and Hecla Mine is compelled to deliver all its copper to the foreign syndicate, not because the syndicate have put the price up to a very high figure, but because they *might* put it down to a very low figure and "undersell the American producer." This calamity, in Mr. Blair's opinion, could be prevented by the protective tariff. This beats Mr. Evarts's exposition of the wool tariff hollow. We do not wonder that Senator Platt declined to be led into such a wilderness by the author of the Blair Educational Bill.

Several inquiries have been addressed to us apropos of Mr. Blaine's official exposition of wages in cotton manufacturing in England and the United States. Some people want to know why we do not compete with England in the cotton-goods trade of the world, if we pay no higher wages than she does and have the raw material free of duty. Others want to know why, under these conditions, England actually sends cotton goods to the United States, and sells them in our market at a profit. An answer to the latter inquiry can be found by examining the trade returns. Cotton goods are of almost infinite variety, and some kinds are not produced in this country at all. For example, out of a total of about $30,000,000 of such importations, laces, braids, cords, trimmings, and insertings count for upwards of $6,000,000, or one-fifth of the whole, hosiery $8,500,000, velvets, velveteens, velvet bindings, ribbons, and vestings about $2,000,000; cotton yarn valued at over eighty cents per pound, $1,000,000. The largest division of cotton-goods importation consists of the articles "not otherwise provided for" in the tariff schedules, upwards of $9,000,000. Thus all of our cotton importations except a trifle are accounted for by articles which do not come into competition with our own manufactures, because they are either not made here at all or are made in insufficient quantity. It is worth remarking that in the "tariff reduction" swindle of 1883 the duty on these finer grades of cotton goods was *raised* from 35 per cent. to 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Turning to the other branch of the inquiry, we remark, first, that we exported in the year 1887 cotton manufactures to the value of $14,929,342. Therefore we do compete with other countries to that extent. Our exportation of cotton goods was one-half as great as our exports of tobacco, two-thirds as great as our exportation of wood and manufactures of wood, more than twice as large as our exports of leather and manufactures of leather, and four times as large as our exports of copper, all of which may be called indigenous industries. Why do we not export more? One reason is that we have not the requisite number of mills to supply fully the home demand. We draw this inference from the fact that new and very large cotton mills are now in course of erection, in spite of the Mills bill and all that that implies, three such being well under way at Fall River alone and a fourth just beginning. Another reason is that cotton machinery is taxed 45 per cent., structural iron 100 per cent. or more, and chemicals, except bleaching powder, 25 per cent. Another reason undoubtedly is that when we went back to high tariffs in 1861, and subsequently, we allowed Great Britain to get the start of us in the cotton-goods trade of the world to such a degree that she now has possession of the principal markets, and everybody knows that mere possession amounts to a great deal. One thing is certain—it is *not* high wages that prevents us from competing with England in cotton manufacturing. We have Mr. Blaine's authority for that statement, and there, for once, Mr. Blaine is right.

There is no doubt that the pressure on President Cleveland to get him to write a letter endorsing Hill's nomination has been actively begun. The emissaries are already on the road. There is serious alarm among Hill's followers touching the effect on his candidacy of the sober second thought of the public, and they are anxiously looking about for the means of counteracting the increasing public disgust. The only thing that could possibly do them any good would be a letter from the President. That it *would* do them any good, however, we refuse to believe. On the contrary, we think it would involve both tickets in common ruin. If Hill is to be elected, it must be on his own character and record. There are very few who know the man, and object to voting for him because they know him, who could be induced to swallow their scruples by anything the President could say about him. On the contrary, we believe any such attempt to cure Hill would aggravate him. The only man in the world who could help Hill would be a man who should prove that he is pure, incorruptible, straightforward, truthful. If any such person appears before the election, he will make Hill's endorsement by everybody else superfluous. In his absence, Hill is a pitiful creature.

Mayor Hewitt's talk on Thursday touching his relations to Tammany was very interesting reading. It appears that Tammany furnished him with lists of people it wished appointed to office, and he failed to satisfy it. He did give Tammany men some offices, however, though not those they desired. His description of Mr. Richard Croker as a man who thinks politics means public office, while he (Mr. Hewitt) thinks it means good government, is singularly correct, but adds nothing to the public knowledge of Mr. Croker. Mr. Hewitt's account of John Kelly as "an honest man under whose control Tammany was a power for good government" is, however, enough to take one's breath away. All researches ever made into Kelly's moral or political condition showed him to be a thoroughly corrupt demagogue or boss, who seemed honest simply by contrast, because he succeeded Tweed. The most important point in Mr. Hewitt's talk is, however, his pledge that if Tammany puts up an unfit man for the Mayoralty, he will allow himself to be run against him.

A very pungent letter from the late Roscoe Conkling about Mr. James G. Blaine, written twenty-two years ago, has been given to the public in the Ithaca *Democrat* by Mr. Peter B. Crandall, with comments and explanations of his own. It is but a specimen of the additional revelations about the "Greatest Living Statesman" with which we should have been deluged had his party been so unlucky as to have his nomination forced on them. There were large stores of such things kept, one may say, in bond, ready to be thrown on the market in case he again offered himself for the suffrages of the nation. Mr. Crandall, now a man of eighty and a Republican from the beginning, finds even Blaine's prominence in the canvass more than he can bear; but most other depositaries of the Blaine record would have been more patient, and have waited till he actually began to run for the Presidency. Had this occurred, instead of the decent, rational, and instructive canvass now going on, and which is, barring the forged quotations, a credit to the country, we should all have been kept busy for three months examining the question whether on such a day the Republican candidate lied, whether on another day he cheated, and whether on another he took a bribe. In view of these things we must all, of every party, give thanks to the Republican Convention for Gen. Harrison. He is not a great man, and his attainments in some fields are small, but there is no need to discuss his personal character, which is in all respects worthy of the great place to which he aspires; and the same remark may be made of Mr. Morton. Consequently we all have time for the discussion of political opinions or ideas, to the immense benefit of the country. No matter how the election goes in November, the gain to the American people from the controversy now raging over the tariff will be great and permanent.

The official figures from the Maine election appear to be saturated with a malicious determination to contradict all the statements made by Mr. Blaine on the evening of election day. We have shown how completely they have disproved his statements that the result was "almost a political revolution," and that "many Democrats turned against the Mills bill." There is one other assertion which remains to be disposed of, and the official figures of the Prohibition vote attend to that. Mr. Blaine closed his despatch to Gen. Harrison with this sentence: "The Prohibition vote falls off everywhere." The official returns give the total Prohibition vote as 3,151, against 1,190 in the September election of 1884, a gain of 1,961, or about 159 per cent.

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THE HISTORY OF THE TARIFF.

THE general considerations which bear upon the question of tariff revision are likely to become pretty familiar to a large proportion of our citizens during the present canvass. Even the arguments that concern special phases of the subject, such as the tariff on wool and woollens, on lumber and salt, will be well understood by thousands to whom economic questions were very foreign a few months ago. It would be a great acquisition to the cause of reform if an equal number of citizens could be made acquainted with the facts of our tariff history; for nothing could more effectively shake the trust of a plain man in the soundness of our present system than a knowledge of the devious ways—sometimes haphazard, sometimes tricky—by which our tariff laws have arrived at their present state. Prof. Taussig of Harvard University has put this knowledge within the reach of the general public in his volume on 'The Tariff History of the United States.'

The portion of this history which is of chief interest at this juncture is that which covers the period from 1857 to the present time. How recent is the doctrine which was embodied in the Chicago platform, and which has gradually hardened into its present state through the constantly bolder and bolder demands of the protected interests, may be seen from a few extracts relating to the situation just before the war:

"The country accepted the tariff acts of 1846 and 1857, and was satisfied with them. Except in the years immediately following the passage of the former act, when there was some attempt to induce a return to a more rigid protective system, agitation on the tariff ceased almost entirely. There is no doubt that the period from 1846 to 1860 was a time of great material prosperity—interrupted, but not checked, by the crisis of 1857. It would be going too far to assert that this general prosperity was due chiefly to the liberal character of the tariff. Other causes exercised a great and perhaps a predominant influence. But the moderate tariff undoubtedly was one of the elements that contributed to the general welfare. It may be well to add that prosperity was not confined to any part of the country, or to any branches of industry. Manufactures in general continued to flourish; and the reduction of duties which was made in 1857 had the consent and approbation of the main body of manufacturers."

In all this, Prof. Taussig agrees with Mr. Blaine's history of the same period. It sounds strange enough, in these days, to be told that the lowest tariff we have had for seventy years "had the consent and approbation of the main body of manufacturers." But if one were at all disposed to doubt the accuracy of this statement, his doubts would probably disappear on reading some of the citations from Republican Congressmen concerning the tariff of 1861. Senator Sherman said in a speech in Congress while the bill enacting this tariff was pending: "The manufacturers have asked over and over again to be let alone. The tariff of 1857 is the manufacturers' bill." And Prof. Taussig quotes Mr. Morrill himself, the author of the bill, as saying in late years that the tariff of 1861 "was not asked for, and but coldly welcomed by manufacturers, who always (and justly) fear instability." Finally, we may quote a sentence from a speech by Mr. Rice of Massachusetts, as showing that in 1860 a man could be a protectionist without advocating the highest rates of duty that any interested party might have the effrontery to demand. "The manufacturer," said Mr. Rice, "asks no additional protection. He has learned, among other things, that the greatest evil, next to a ruinous competition from foreign sources, is an excessive protection, which stimulates a like ruinous and irresponsible competition at home."

Nothing in Prof. Taussig's book is more interesting than the history of the gradual change in the spirit of the manufacturers in their demands for protection and of Congress in its attitude towards them. Under the tremendous needs of the national Treasury during the war, no one was disposed to criticise the means by which revenue was made to flow into the nation's coffers. Protective taxation was laid without discrimination and without stint on everything that any interested party desired to have protected. The tariff bill of 1864, which gave us the high war tariff under which, in regard to the great protected industries, we are in the main still living, was introduced in the House June 2 and passed June 4; in the Senate two days were given to its consideration. "The necessity of the situation," says Prof. Taussig, "the critical state of the country, the urgent need of revenue, may have justified this haste, which, it is safe to say, is unexampled in the history of civilized countries. But surely there can be no excuse for making a measure passed in this manner and under these circumstances the foundation of the permanent economic policy of an enlightened people." Concerning the effect of the habits engendered by the legislation of the war upon the tone of public opinion respecting the tariff, and upon the boldness of interested suitors for protection, we cannot do better than to quote Prof. Taussig again:

"Every domestic producer who came before Congress got what he wanted in the way of duties. Protection ran riot; and this, moreover, not merely for the time being. The whole tone of the public mind towards the question of import duties became distorted. Not only during the war, but for several years after it, all feeling of opposition to high import duties almost entirely disappeared. The habit of putting on as high rates as any one asked had become so strong that it could hardly be shaken off; and even after the war, almost any increase of duties demanded by domestic producers was readily made. . . . The line between public duty and private interests was often lost sight of by legislators. . . . When more enlightened and unselfish views began to make their way, and protests were made against the abuses and excessive duties of the war period, these had obtained, as we shall see, too strong a hold to be easily shaken off."

Even more striking than the history of the rise of the high-protection system during the war is that of the increase of some of the most important protective duties after the war. Prof. Taussig singles out, as illustrations of this, the duties on wool and woollens, on steel rails, and on copper. We cannot do justice to these points without going into greater detail than is here practicable. No one can read the story of these duties, told with the conspicuous fairness and lucidity that mark the whole of Prof. Taussig's work, without feeling how idle is the expectation—if, indeed, any indulge it—of anything like rational reform of the tariff system at the hands of those who have been instrumental in making it what it is, or with the consent of those whose fortunes have been built up by its most onerous provisions.

A point which ought not to be forgotten by those who make comparisons between the present rates of duty and those which prevailed during the war, is, that at that time there were heavy internal-revenue taxes on nearly everything we manufactured, and that the rates of duty were distinctly made with a view to compensating for these internal taxes and affording the manufacturer protection besides. No one supposed for a moment that the internal-revenue taxes would be abolished and the protective duties based upon them remain as high as ever. Yet such has been the case. Not only has the war system of protection been left substantially intact; it has, at many points—as in the instances of wool and woollens, copper, and steel rails—been explicitly raised; and in a vast range of cases protection has been virtually increased through the abolition of the internal-revenue taxes. When certain duties were avowedly made to cover and compensate for internal taxation, nothing could be plainer than the implied promise that when that taxation was removed, a corresponding reduction would be made in the duty; but that promise has been completely forgotten. Until the present canvass we had from the Republican party plenty of promises, of a more or less definite character, of tariff reform "within the party." Now the sound of these has nearly died out, and our tariff history has at last reached a crisis in which the contending parties are not protectionists and free-traders, but, on the one hand, those who openly declare that every stone of the incongruous pile which has been built up by protectionists shall be held sacred, and on the other, those who ask the people to resume the exercise of their right to the control of their own taxation.

"DISPUTED QUOTATIONS."

THE Boston *Journal* finds a variety of reasons for holding on to the forged quotations from the English press that have been sent so widely over the country by the "party of moral ideas." The very heading of the *Journal's* article, viz., "As to Certain *Disputed* Quotations," shows the frame of mind in which the subject is taken up—the fact being that the quotations are not "disputed" at all, but are notorious forgeries which nobody now pretends are anything but forgeries. The *Journal* first travels solemnly over the ground taken by the Boston *Advertiser* the other day, that if these quotations are not exactly authentic, they nevertheless express the opinions entertained by the editors. The *Journal* has a new way of putting this fine conceit. It says, "There is nothing intrinsically improbable in the attributing of this phrase to the London *Times*." No, there is nothing intrinsically improbable in *your* attributing it to the London *Times*, even after the *Times* has disavowed it and declared that it never entertained that opinion at all.

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But the *Journal* has many excuses besides this. It thinks it altogether likely that this phrase did appear in the London *Times*, although it cannot be found, because "the effort of hunting through the files of such a paper as the London *Times* for a three-line extract would be rather arduous." "The most that can be said," it continues, "is, that no one has found the *date* of the paper containing these words; but it does not follow that the quotation is a forgery." Becoming emboldened by the thought that it is only "the date" that is wanting, it goes on to quote what Congressman Butterworth said. Butterworth having said, not that the London *Times said* so and so, but that he read so and so *in* the *Times*, "a few years ago," the *Journal* advances still a new idea, viz.: "We have been told by some one who professes to know, that the words formed a part of a speech which was reported in the *Times*. We do not vouch for this explanation, but it at least is consistent with the London *Times's* disclaimer of the words, and also with Congressman Butterworth's recollection of reading them in the *Times*." Having given all these reasons for holding on, or not quite letting go, the *Journal* says that it "does not regard the point as of much consequence anyway." Of course not. It is of no consequence to you whether you tell lies or not. But it is of some consequence to the public who read your newspaper.

Now, we have an answer to all your pleas, one after the other. If you think that the "disputed quotation" from the London *Times* contained nothing intrinsically improbable as an expression of the opinions of that paper, you ought to have printed it in this way:

"The only time that England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade"—*Intrinsically Probable Opinion of the London Times.*

If you think it likely that this phrase did appear in the London *Times*, although it cannot now be found, you ought to have printed it thus:

"The only time that England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade."—*London Times, but no copy of the paper can be found.*

If you think that the most that can be said on the other side is, that no one has found "the date" of the paper, you ought to have printed it in this way:

"The only time that England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade."—*London Times, date missing.*

If you believed that the phrase in question was not in an editorial of the *Times*, but in a speech printed by that paper, you should have printed in it this way:

"The only time that England can use an Irishman is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade."—*Speech printed in London Times, author and date unknown.*

Finally, if you were following Congressman Butterworth and had no other authority than himself, why did you not use the words that he used? Butterworth said:

"A few years ago I read in the London *Times* these words, in speaking of the Irish people: 'The only time that England can use *the Celt* is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade.'"

Substituting "an Irishman" for "the Celt" was a forgery upon a forgery. It looks like a small matter, but it is really important, because most people know that the London *Times* does not use slang in its editorials. Consequently, the word "Celt" employed in the pretended quotation would have cast doubt upon the whole thing. It would have started inquiry and led to early exposure of the forgery. The Celts are not confined to Ireland. They include also the Scottish, Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric peoples. If a newspaper of the standing of the London *Times* should use the phrase in question, it would be equivalent to saying, "The only time that England can use an Irishman, Scotchman, Welshman, Cornishman, or Channel Islander is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade." This would not have answered the purposes of the Republican campaign at all; hence the ingenious variation of the language used by Congressman Butterworth.

The brazenness of the Republican committees who continue to circulate these lies after their falsity is proved and acknowledged, and of Republican newspapers like the Boston *Journal* and *Advertiser*, that find excuses for the conduct of the committees like those here recited, does not seem so surprising when we recall the demoralization of the Blaine campaign four years ago. Any newspaper or committee or party that went through that Serbonian bog of lies and quibbles to explain the Mulligan letters, and to reconcile them with an honorable standard of public life, would be well schooled for false quotations from the English press, or false tables of wages, or any other immoral practice that might promise to gain the votes of ignorant people.

ELECTORAL FORGERIES.

We believe there never has, before now, been a canvass in a free country in which the appeals to the voters on one side consisted almost wholly of extracts from foreign newspapers. The Republican canvass this year, in fact, produces little else. Nearly all the cards and handbills which are issued by the hundred thousand from the committee and club-rooms, tell the voter not what American statesmen, or orators, or economists say, but what the London *Times* and *Economist* and *Spectator* and Manchester *Guardian* say. In ordinary times the comments of these newspapers on American affairs are apt to be served up for popular derision on account of their blunders and ineptness touching everything American. But within the past three months they have been cited far and wide as infallible guides for American electors in casting their votes, almost to the total exclusion of all American authorities.

So great, too, is the reliance placed on them by the managers of the Republican canvass that, although there never has been any question that all the leading English journals advocate free trade, and although there need not be the least difficulty in finding passages in their columns illustrative of this advocacy, the Republicans have been actually relying mainly on extracts either forged or garbled, which we have been freely exposing during the past few weeks. The tenacity with which the clubs and committees cling to them in spite of the exposure, the fury and bitterness with which the newspapers receive all requests to withdraw them or apologize, and the equivocation and quibbling by which it is sought to conceal or explain them away, form, we think, one of the most repulsive spectacles ever witnessed in a political contest, even in times of more corruption and excitement than the present. We advise any of our readers who wishes to estimate for himself the importance of these citations (both genuine and forged) to Gen. Harrison's supporters, to examine the arguments in any Republican newspaper which he is in the habit of seeing, or go to the Republican committee-room and look over the documents which they are circulating, and mark off from them the passages which either quote or profess to quote English newspapers, and he will be amazed to see how small and slight a thing the residuum is. The party, in fact, has become intellectually as well as morally such a rump that when it tries to argue, it steals, in spite of itself.

We suggested some time ago, in view of the large part which the forgeries are playing in the canvass, and of the importance evidently attached to them as instruments of persuasion, that the use of forgery or fraudulent quotation during a canvass with intent to deceive voters, should be subjected to the same penalties as bribery or personation. The *Boston Herald* questioned the practicability of anything of the sort, but did not say on what ground. But the idea, we think, finds general favor among all those who care for electoral purity, and we think it occurs to everybody who comes across the forgeries, and sees the mischief they are doing among the less intelligent voters. Mr. George, a hotel proprietor in New Hampshire, when acknowledging the receipt of a bundle of them from the now notorious Radclyffe of the Boston Home Market Club, the other day said:

"I acknowledge receipt from you of a package of protection documents for distribution; also a circular letter informing me that they are not generally called for in New Hampshire, and asking that I put them where they will help 'the cause.' As the documents in question contain a series of forged quotations and other equally reliable information for the faithful, and as I must decline to be an instrument of the Home Market Club in giving circulation to such matters, I have consigned the lot to the flames. I trust if there is not already a law on the statute-books of Massachusetts covering such crimes against good morals, that the next Legislature will enact such measure or measures as will be necessary to protect society."

Our State law on forgery apparently does not touch the offence, because the forgery must have in view some sort of fraud against property. But an amendment covering an attempt to deceive a voter by forgery, or fraudulent quotation, would be very simple. The matter attracted a good deal of attention in 1880, apropos of the Morey letter, which became the subject of a criminal prosecution. That was a letter

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purporting to have been written by Gen. Garfield, containing views about labor which were well calculated to cause him the loss of votes, and, consequently, of the Presidency, but would not necessarily have been at all discreditable or injurious under other circumstances. Now it was found, when the writer was caught, that the only way of proceeding against him criminally was by indictment for libel. That this was a serious defect in the law was fully recognized by Judge Noah Davis in his decision of November 14, 1880, holding the forger Philp for trial. He said:

"Had the subject of the forgery in this case been instruments purporting to be obligations of Gen. Garfield, and he publicly declared them to be forgeries, who could thereafter send them forth, and circulate them throughout the commonwealth, with his representation of genuineness, without incurring the penalties of the law? *The difference is purely statutory, and in a moral forum wholly vanishes.* . . . But it is altogether a forgery, perpetrated by some person or body of persons *for the purpose of deceiving the people and defrauding them* and Gen. Garfield of their votes."

"It must be the wish of all honorable minds that this case will lead not only to discovery and exposure of the guilty, but *to the enactment of laws which will prevent or severely punish offences of this character.* Whoever be the guilty in this case, right-thinking men everywhere must look upon the act as an appalling crime, wholly at war with the safety and sanctity of popular government. Fortunately no committee and no body of men hold in their hands the conscience of the people, and no party fealty is strong enough to intercept the sentence of condemnation which honest men of all parties must pronounce upon such guilt."

Moreover, the District Attorney, Bell, laid it down, that the circulation by the Democratic Committee of a forged letter "with the view of injuring Gen. Garfield in the estimation of a portion of the voters of the country while he was running for an honorable office," made them "liable to prosecution for criminal libel." Of course this exactly covers the intent of the Republican Committee and others in circulating the forged extracts from the English papers. They are designed to injure Mr. Cleveland in the estimation of a portion of the voters, and to induce them to vote against him. Throughout the proceedings there was no attempt made to show that the opinions attributed to Gen. Garfield would disgrace him as a man. They were held to be libellous simply because they damaged him as a candidate.

Of course, it may be said that it would not be possible to follow up and punish all the lies or misrepresentations made in the course of an exciting canvass. But we do not propose anything so laborious and probably so futile. We simply propose to have the law of forgery applied to printed or lithographed documents published and circulated with the design of changing votes. To make such application efficacious, we should adopt section 18 of the English Parliamentary Elections Act, which requires that "every bill, placard, and poster having reference to an election shall bear on its face the name and address of the printer and publisher." If we had this change in the law now, either many tons of campaign literature now in circulation would never have seen the light, or Thurber, Radclyffe, and scores of others would be under bonds awaiting trial, or fugitives from justice.

PARTY CHANGES.

As the campaign progresses, evidence accumulates that a great transformation in the membership of parties is in progress. Everywhere one hears of men who either have been Republicans, or would naturally, from their environment, have become Republicans, who will vote the Democratic ticket, and of former Democrats who will support Harrison. The New Haven *News* recently sent letters of inquiry as to the drift of opinion to men of both political parties in Connecticut, and it says of the result: "Each Republican who replied writes of many changes from the Democratic party, and each Democrat knows of many changes from the Republican party. There were no exceptions to this rule in the letters received." The ground for these changes in almost every instance is the attitude of the two parties regarding the issue of tariff reform.

It is exceedingly difficult to form a conclusion as to the effect of this transformation in membership upon the relative proportions of the two parties in any State. One of the correspondents of the New Haven paper remarks with much force: "We all naturally find what we seek; and I think an idea of the drift of opinion gained by comparing the views of different observers will prove nothing except the point of view of a majority of the observers." Moreover, a great many of the changes cannot be detected, since the voters who are changing do not care to advertise the matter.

Some light, however, is cast upon this question by the result of the Maine election. For weeks the leading Republican papers in that State, like the Portland *Press*, Lewiston *Journal*, and Augusta *Journal*, were announcing conversions to their side of former Democrats on the tariff issue—manufacturers who feared that their business would be ruined, employees who dreaded low wages if a "free-trade" policy should be adopted, farmers who were afraid that they should lose the "home market" for agricultural products if the tariff should be reduced. We much regret that we did not have compiled a full list of such changes announced by these papers. They must have reached well into the hundreds, and as every case reported was declared to stand for several similar ones which were not reported, it seems plain that there must have been, according to the Republican theory, thousands of men in the class referred to by Mr. Blaine in this passage of his despatch on the night of election day to Whitelaw Reid: "The question of protection was the only one discussed. *Many Democrats turned against the Mills bill.*"

In the gubernatorial election of 1884 in Maine, the Republicans cast 78,318 votes, and the Democrats 58,503—a Republican plurality of 19,815. Suppose that we consider the "many Democrats" of 1884 who "turned against the Mills bill" and consequently voted the Republican ticket this year, as aggregating 5,000 in number. It follows, of course, that, supposing no other change to have occurred, the Republican vote in 1888 should have risen to 83,318 and the Democratic fallen to 53,503, swelling the Republican plurality to nearly 30,000. But in point of fact the Republican vote rose only to 79,513—a gain of but 1,195; while the Democrats not only did not lose 5,000, or even one, but polled 61,018, a gain of 2,515, reducing the Republican plurality to 18,495. As the Republican papers claim to have proved that thousands of the Democrats of 1884 voted the Republican ticket in 1888, it is plain that more thousands of the Republicans of 1884 voted the Democratic ticket in 1888. If 5,000 former Democrats voted the Republican ticket, it is clear that nearly 6,000 former Republicans must have voted the Democratic ticket, in order to reduce the Republican plurality to the extent which it suffered.

The *Tribune* has brought together in a single issue a large number of such changes from the Democratic party to the Republican on the tariff issue in this State as the Maine Republican papers published in small instalments during the canvass in the latter State. Considering that the vote of New York is eight times as large as that of Maine, the *Tribune's* list is no longer than would be needed to record a proportionate number of changes in this State. As the leading Republican organ in the country may be presumed to have devoted more expense to such a matter than less wealthy and enterprising sheets, the probability is that the *Tribune's* canvass comes much nearer showing the real loss to the Democrats in New York than the Republican organs in Maine were able to do in their State. The *Tribune's* conclusion as to the number of such Democratic deserters in New York is this: "It would be almost impossible to form anything like a reliable estimate of the number of Democrats who have left their party in this State. It certainly goes far up into the thousands."

If we estimate that there were 5,000 former Democrats in Maine who left their party this year, and allow a similar proportion in this State, the number would reach 40,000. But if we apply the Maine basis still further, to changes the other way, it follows that nearly 48,000 former Republicans in New York must be expected to vote the Democratic ticket, which, on the basis of the result in 1884, would give Cleveland the State by a plurality of well up towards 10,000.

But there is every reason to believe that the Democrats will gain relatively far more on the tariff issue in this State than the result shows they did in Maine. The sentiment in favor of tariff reform is ten times as strong in New York as in Maine. The habit and practice of independent voting are ten times as common in New York as in Maine. The obloquy and loss which a former Republican often suffers for voting the Democratic ticket are not one-tenth as much to be dreaded in New York as in Maine. Moreover, the existence of a large class of former Republicans who will support Cleveland on the tariff issue this year is ten times as plain to the casual observer in New York as it was in Maine. The Republican papers in Maine boasted that there were next

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to no changes away from their party to counterbalance the many changes away from the Democrats, and indeed we only heard of an occasional case like that of President Hyde of Bowdoin College. But the result shows that Dr. Hyde had abundance of company—that there were, indeed, more Republicans who went with him than there were Democrats who turned against their party. In New York, on the other hand, there is abundant evidence already visible that a very large class of former Republicans will support the Democratic ticket this year.

It was generally admitted before Mr. Cleveland injected the tariff issue into the Presidential campaign that he would be re-elected. After he sent in his message the Republican organs claimed that the party changes which it would produce must defeat him. The Maine election proves that it is the Republicans, and not the Democrats, who have reason to fear the result of these changes.

THE EMPEROR FREDERICK'S DIARY.

THE publication of the diary of the late Emperor Frederick, through one of his friends, Baron Roggenbach, apparently authorized by the Empress Victoria, appears to have had the effect of a bombshell in German politics. It has been popularly supposed, ever since 1866 at least, that although Frederick's tendencies and opinions were liberal, and although he was an able man, nevertheless that he was so completely overborne in his father's counsels by Bismarck that he counted for nothing in the shaping of German policy. The creation of the German Empire he was supposed to have assented to, or, at most, approved of, but to Bismarck was given the whole credit of the idea, as well as of its execution.

It would appear now that even up to Sedan Bismarck hung back from the undertaking, or threw cold water on it, and that it was due to Frederick's persistence that both the King and the Prince were brought over to it. Bismarck, man of blood and iron though he was, was afraid of the South Germans. Frederick was also opposed to the bombardment of Paris, but was unable to maintain himself against the military party headed by Moltke, to whom also, it may be added, was due the equally barbarous bombardment of Strasbourg. The fact would seem to be that Frederick was really the only truly modern man at the German headquarters. The others were almost mediæval in their notions as to the forces which rule modern society. Frederick believed in war as one of those forces, but he also believed that to make war thoroughly efficacious it must be so waged as to leave behind the least possible amount of sting in the minds of the vanquished. The same feeling appears to have made him doubt the wisdom of annexing Alsace and Lorraine. Another illustration of this same freedom from old prepossessions is to be found in the fun he makes of the practice, common among belligerents, of praying for the help of God against the enemy. Each side does this in every war with perfect gravity, and returns thanks for its success, and believes, with more or less fervor, that the Almighty is in its camp, and is taking an active part in directing the operations. The old King believed this firmly, and Bismarck has always maintained that he believed it, but with a twinkle in his eye. We suppose that he holds, with Napoleon, that God is always with the big battalions.

It appears also from the diary that Frederick was determined, whenever he ascended the throne, to establish a thoroughly liberal régime, and make the Ministers responsible to Parliament in the English fashion. It has accordingly been seized on by the German Liberal press as a sort of campaign document, and will undoubtedly greatly encourage the Liberals in resisting the reactionary policy which, as far as one can now see, the present Emperor is likely to pursue. In fact, the publication is probably more important for him than for any other individual. It will do something to dim Bismarck's fame, but Bismarck is a vanishing factor. He is nearing the close of his career, and must exert a diminishing influence on the march of affairs. But the young Emperor is apparently trying to get back to 1866, and it will be a serious matter for him to find himself confronted at every step by his father's shade, and to find the opposition sustained and cheered by his father's political reflections and predictions. The lesson he has yet to learn is the strength of opinion in the modern world, the solvent force it exerts both on traditions and institutions, and the folly of coming into direct collision with it, even at the head of a million of men.

The diary, too, will probably bring home to the German people very keenly what a misfortune the old Emperor's long life was, in spite of its picturesqueness and dignity. His career was really complete and fully rounded at the close of the French war. He had won more than he ever hoped for, and lived to see things he had never dreamed of seeing. Had he died soon after the peace, he would have died full of years and honors, and Frederick would have had time to inaugurate a peaceful and progressive régime, which would probably have diminished the huge armaments under which Germany is groaning, and have removed the dismal forebodings about the political future in which the whole European continent now lives. In earlier days, the Germans would have detected a tremendous judgment on some hidden national sin in the strange fate which kept the old Emperor's lamp flickering feebly almost until his son's was suddenly and fearfully extinguished.

ATHLETICS IN FRANCE.

HARDLY any difference between French and English manners has been more marked since the Revolution of 1789 than the indifference of the French to field sports, and to out-door games and gymnastic exercises generally. For twenty-five years after the overthrow of the old Monarchy, the national activity found expression solely in war, and, when the peace came, the only muscular exercise in vogue among the men was fencing with the small sword or sabre. Nothing was done for athletics in the schools. The Napoleonic "lycées," in which the boys of the middle and upper classes were educated, had no better provision for out-door exercise than small play-grounds surrounded by high walls, in which the boys moped, walked, or romped, under as strict and constant supervision from tutors as the girls in the old-fashioned city boarding-schools. This state of things lasted down to the German war. It unquestionably accounted in a large degree for the devotion of the French to what Matthew Arnold called the goddess Lubricity. The boys were kept in a sort of moral hot-house at school, with nothing to check unhealthy activity of the imagination. When they obtained their liberty on reaching manhood, the only way of exercising it that occurred to them was amorous adventures and irregularities. Hence the ridiculous amount of attention which the French now give to the sexual passion, the amount of writing they devote to it, and the immense prominence given to it in their works of fiction.

According to a writer in the *Figaro*, a considerable change has come over the French youth since the war, partly owing to the impression made on them by the tremendous drubbing they got from the Germans, and partly owing to increased contact with the English, and increased resulting inclination to imitate them. Accordingly, there has appeared on the scene in France a class which they call "Bicepsmen," corresponding to the earlier English "muscular Christians," or "boating men," and our own athletes. The *Figaro* maintains that they are but revivals of an old type—that the smaller country gentlemen, before the Revolution, never allowed themselves to get out of condition, and walked, rode, and shot, and played tennis as much as any do now. But for fifty years after the fall of the Empire, what young Frenchmen sought after was elegance, refinement, and delicacy of feature and complexion and hands; they even did not disdain a little stoop, as a mark of a sedentary or indoor life, and the models among them were those who were most successful in gallantry. This type was known as the "petits crévés," and was at its best under the Second Empire.

Their place has now been taken by the "Bicepsmen," who, as their name indicates, are essentially English in their standards. Their imagination has been touched by the athletic habits and physical strength of the English gentry. For instance, "what distinguishes an English nobleman is that when he takes a cab, he knows, if he has a row with the cabman, that he can lick him, and, what is better, the cabman knows it too. There is nothing which marks better the distinction between the classes than this, and does more to maintain good relations between them," according to our French authority; and he maintains that in old times there was a race of gentlemen in France, also, who could in case of necessity assert their superiority to the cabmen in the

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same manner. The fashion has been revived and is spreading, perhaps owing in part to the terrible decline in the manners of the Parisian cabman which all travellers report.

Costume in France is of the first importance. Accordingly, the "Bicepsman" wears his clothes tight, in order to display more clearly his muscular outline. The frock coat, or coat of any kind with long skirts, which would conceal or attenuate rotundity, is sternly discarded. The short sack, which conceals nothing of which an athlete feels ashamed, is most in favor. His collar, too, is straight but low and close-fitting, marking the outline of the neck. The turn-down collar, fitting loosely, is forbidden, because it looks as if the wearer was not in condition and was afraid of some sort of cerebral congestion. The shoes or boots are of course low-heeled and broad-soled, as befit a man who travels not on his nerves, but on his muscles. The Bicepsman, too, is grave and self-confident, and perhaps even a little defiant in his bearing, and has to be on his guard against displaying his strength rather than letting it be seen. One of them, whom the writer in the *Figaro* happened to see out of his window, exercising with dumb-bells, had the line from his heel to the back of his neck marked by a cleanness, a firmness of design, an absence of hesitation or uncertainty, which spoke volumes as to his general make-up.

Considered in his relations to women, as every French type has to be, it would appear that the Bicepsman is more in favor with ladies who have reached the age of thirty than with the younger ones. The cultivation of the muscles apparently brings with it a certain gravity and sense of responsibility, which diminishes that gayety of the heart and play of the tongue which are necessary to success in the earlier years of love-making. A real Bicepsman, in short, has to be a mature man, a man whose bodily powers are at their best, and whose consciousness of their value has produced a mental calm and gravity of demeanor which very young girls would not appreciate. It will be seen, in fact, that, on the whole, the French athlete is sure to be a bit of an actor.

NOURRISSON'S APOLOGY FOR PASCAL.

PARIS, August 23.

'THE DEFENCE OF PASCAL' is a very singular title for a book. I did not know that Pascal needed any defence. M. Nourrisson, a member of the French Institute, well known for his many philosophical and historical works, has made himself the apologist of the famous author of the 'Provinciales' and the 'Pensées.' He explains the Jansenism of Pascal and his hostility to the Jesuits; he defends him against the accusation of scepticism or pessimism; he enters even into the domain of science, and shows that the scientific work of Pascal has not been appreciated at its full value. In order fully to appreciate the intellectual work of the famous writer, we must, according to the modern method, see him in his *milieu*, and study the relations between the development of his ideas and his life.

Pascal was born in 1623. After a very severe fall of his father, he made his first serious reflections on human destiny, and entered into relations with some ardent Jansenists. He was already twenty-three years old, but had, so far, only been occupied with scientific pursuits; but, from that moment, he turned his mind towards religious and philosophical subjects. He remained, however, a man of the world, and walked in the beaten track. This first shock of his father's malady was not strong enough. "If I had lost my father six years ago," he wrote, in October, 1651, "I should have been a lost man."

He experienced grace a second time, towards the end of 1654. His sister Jacqueline had entered Port Royal, and he unbosomed himself to her: he wished to detach himself from all earthly things, and he placed himself under the spiritual guidance of M. Singlin (whom Sainte-Beuve has so well described in his history of Port Royal), and made his first retreat to Port Royal in January, 1655, where he astonished Saci by his famous conversation on Epictetus and Montaigne. What had taken place between what is called his first and his second and definitive conversion? We know only imperfectly, but we know that Pascal's health was very delicate, that he was of a very nervous and sensitive disposition. It has been said that he gave himself up for a time to worldly pleasures, that he was extravagant, that he gamed, that he was very sensual, and that he ended by having real hallucinations.

M. Nourrisson is very anxious, too anxious, it seems to us, to defend Pascal against these imputations. He will not allow that Pascal was ever fond of cards and games of chance. To be sure, he wrote the 'Règle des Partis,' but this was only an occasion for exercising his mind and for making ingenious calculations. He will not even admit that Pascal was wealthy, for wealth seems to M. Nourrisson a necessary condition of gambling. Pascal's fortune had been diminished by the reduction of rentes (we say conversion in our day), which his father had been obliged to accept. Pascal had also to give her dowry to Jacqueline when she entered Port Royal, and the dowry was not large, as Jacqueline speaks in a letter of "the little which God had given her." He had to pay some large debts contracted by his father (see the 'Recherches sur la maison où Blaise Pascal est né et sur la fortune d'Étienne Pascal,' by B. Gonod. Clermont, 1847). It is true that in her memoir on her uncle ('Mémoire sur la vie de Pascal'), Marguerite Périer writes that when the doctors saw him in a bad state of health, on account of his great application to science, they forbade him all fatiguing work. "He was forced to see the world, to game, and to divert himself." The legend of Pascal's extravagance before his second conversion has no other foundation than the story of an accident that happened at the bridge of Neuilly to a carriage in which was Pascal, and which was drawn by four or six horses. M. Nourrisson supposes that Pascal was that day not in his own carriage, but in the carriage of his friend, the Duke of Roannez, Governor of Poitou. This young duke was himself of a very serious turn of mind; he left his government, transferred his ducal title to his brother-in-law, and ended his life with the Fathers of the Oratory.

M. Nourrisson tries, also, to find out the exact truth about what has been called the "roman de Mlle. de Roannez." Charlotte Gouffier de Boisy de Roannez was born in 1633; she had a very religious disposition and became acquainted with the Port Royalists. Her family took her to the province of Poitou, but in 1657, having returned to Paris, she fled and took the veil at Port Royal under the name of Charlotte de la Passion. (The history of her flight to Port Royal has been told in detail by Hermant Godefroi, Canon of Beauvais, and author of a 'History of Jansenism.') Her family obtained a *lettre de cachet*, and she was obliged to leave Port Royal. She lived from 1657 to 1662 in great seclusion in the Hôtel de Roannez, and the Marquis d'Alluye asked in vain for her hand. She lost in 1664 her spiritual director, Singlin, and fell into what Arnauld, the Jansenist, called a spiritual lethargy. At the age of thirty-four, in 1667, she consented to marry François d'Aubusson de la Feuillade, but she led a very unhappy life. She was constantly ill, her children were ill; she finally died at the age of forty-nine, making in her will a legacy to Port Royal.

What part had Pascal in this sad and melancholy existence? Did he exchange spiritual fears, remorses, hopes, with Mlle. de Roannez? Did he wish to make her his wife, and, as he could not obtain her, did he try to give her over entirely to religion? Some of the letters written by Mlle. de Roannez to her family have been lately published; she protests to her mother, in one of them, that if she has decided to lead a purely religious life, "no person in the world has given her the first thoughts of it, nor contributed in any way to this resolution; it has not been a sermon, or a book, or a speech, but the pure grace of God." M. Nourrisson admits, however, that if Pascal did not push Mlle. de Roannez to the convent, he did all he could to fortify her in her resolution. We have some letters of his to her which are full of Christian considerations. It may also be remarked that the "spiritual lethargy" of Mlle. de Roannez commenced after the death of Pascal, which took place in 1662. On the whole, the "roman de Mlle. de Roannez" reduces itself to very little; M. Nourrisson even seems to us to exaggerate it: he admits that Pascal may have been struck by the beauty of Mlle. de Roannez, but there is no picture of her, and we don't even know if she had any beauty. He alludes to Descartes's admiration of the Princess Palatine Elisabeth, and to Spinoza's passion for the daughter of his Latin master, Van den Ende, the beautiful Miriam. He finds a confirmation of his hypothesis in a 'Discours sur les passions de l'amour,' written towards 1652 or 1653, which is attributed to Pascal, and is probably his work. All this seems rather far fetched, and we really have nothing on which to build a "roman."

Victor Cousin has spoken with unnecessary vehemence of this episode in the life of Pascal; of the "cruel and pious enterprise of Port Royal against Mlle. de Roannez, that noble and amiable person for whom a ferocious zeal disputed so long with the most legitimate natural and worldly ties." Cousin erred also when he attributed the second, the definitive conversion of Pascal to the fear which he experienced when the accident of the bridge at Neuilly took place, and when he came near being thrown into the Seine. "Pascal," said he, "one day saw death face to face, and he took fright. He is afraid of death, he does not want to die; but he addresses himself to what best guarantees the immortality of his soul." We agree with M. Nourrisson that this is a very coarse explanation of the drama which had for its stage the conscience of Pascal. Pascal was not smitten at Neuilly like Saint Paul on the road to Damascus; he had never ceased to entertain philosophical and religious ideas. What is called the second conversion did not take place rapidly, it took place slowly and by degrees. This is quite evident from the account given by Marguerite Périer. It was the work of time, of reflection, of disenchantment. The 'Mémoire

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sur la vie de Pascal' is conclusive on this point.

Voltaire considered Pascal a madman, merely because Pascal was religious. "Do not cease," he wrote to his friends, "to repeat that, after the accident on the bridge at Neuilly, Pascal was mad." He reiterates the same thing in his 'Translation of a Letter of Milord Bolingbroke to Milord Cornbury.' He writes: "The 'Pensées' are the work of an enthusiast, and not of a philosopher. If the book which Pascal meditated writing with such materials had been composed, it would have been a monstrous building on a shifting sand. But he could not raise this building, not only because he had little science, but because his brain was deranged in the latter part of his short life." Pascal had really all the science of his time, and he added something to this science; as for his madness (and many will call it genius), Voltaire himself, in a moment of justice, wrote: "Of all these eternal disputants, Pascal alone remains, because he alone was a man of genius. He stands erect on the ruins of his century."

Cousin maintained that Pascal was not a real believer; that he only tried to believe in Christianity—that his faith was not assured. "The doubt before, the doubt after—such was Pascal's fate." It is easier to say that Pascal took a dark view of human destiny, that he was what we call a pessimist—a modern word, unknown by Voltaire, though Voltaire wrote 'Candide,' a most pessimistic work. "It seems to me," wrote the author of 'Candide,' "that when Pascal wrote his 'Pensées,' he intended to show mankind under its most odious form." M. Nourrisson is right when he says that when people accuse Pascal of scepticism, of pessimism, they ought first to give a more precise definition of these terms. The scepticism of Pascal was not the scepticism of the materialistic philosophers of the eighteenth century; his pessimism was not the pessimism of Schopenhauer. M. Nourrisson maintains that in religion Pascal cannot be called a sceptic, that he is a Christian; that in philosophy he is not a sceptic, but a disciple of Descartes, a Cartesian. His argumentation on this second point is very solid. It was essentially the object of Descartes to distinguish and to separate completely theology and philosophy. He was induced to do so partly by his timid circumspection, partly by the boldness of his mind. Pascal bore the mark of the Cartesian philosophy; he also is, in turn, an humble Christian and a bold philosopher.

M. Nourrisson's work, which will be read with interest by all the lovers of our great literature of the seventeenth century, ends with a scientific chapter on the subject of the famous experiment made by Pascal on the Puy-de-Dôme, in order to prove that the air has a certain weight. M. Nourrisson diminishes somewhat Pascal's merit on this point, as he tries to prove that the idea of the experiment originated with Descartes, and that Pascal was induced to make it by the great French philosopher. But, having made the experiment, Pascal was able to find out its laws, and to deduce from it all its consequences and applications.

COUNT TOLSTOI'S INVESTIGATION OF THE GOSPELS.

ST. PETERSBURG, August 15-27, 1888.

LAST winter Mr. Matthew Arnold discussed the writings of Count Lyeff Nikolaievitch Tolstoi in an article in one of the English magazines. I am unable to quote his exact words, because my acquaintance with them is limited to the translation of extracts from them, which were published in a Russian newspaper; but I remember his saying that the fame of the gifted Russian author, as a writer of philosophical and religious books, must eventually rest upon his two volumes which treat of the Gospels. How much Mr. Arnold knew about these books it is impossible to say. I can readily understand that he had heard of them; but that he had heard of them in detail I doubt. They are not available for public judgment. Whether they ever will be so in any country, I do not know. But I can say with absolute certainty that they will always remain in Russia what they are to-day, unknown to all save a select few of the author's friends. No doubt the book would prove acceptable to many others, for various reasons, but it is inaccessible. Manuscripts of some of his other works have circulated here, it is true, in the lack of printed copies, and have become widely known. But this pre-Gutenberg method of procedure is out of the question in the present case, for the reason that the book is too long to readily lend itself to the copyist. Even curiosity has its limits when it has to undergo the ordeal of jotting down inspiration piecemeal, with the consciousness that, after all, one may be pinning one's faith to that version out of several of which the writer would not approve. For I understand that there have been two or three versions, with variations, not important, perhaps, but at least made by the author himself. Taking the bulk of the work and these things into consideration, I do not think that much danger to the creed of orthodox Greek Christians is likely to arise from it; and the mass of Russians, of whatever belief, will not be injured by it in a printed form. It will never be printed so long as the Church and State remain united in Russia, and so long as the Church is the Greek Church. The censor will never give permission, and he is quite right. If there is a State church, the State policy is to protect it from certain dangers and attacks, as much in Russia as in England. In England a bishop is brought to trial for using lighted candles and being more ceremonious with sacred things than the State approves of; in Russia a layman is refused a trial for being too unceremonious with what the State has accepted for the Church. In the present case, the attack is made upon the very root of the Church—the New Testament.

Those persons who have read Count Tolstoi's semi-religious, semi-philosophical works are well aware that he has proceeded very far along the path of unbelief, and have even, probably, wondered at times why he has retained any belief whatever, and just what that belief is. The wonder becomes more profound when one considers this 'Investigation of the Gospels.' In his introduction, he explains how he came to make, as it were, a new rendering of the Scriptures to meet the wants of his own soul:

"Driven to despair," he says, "and to the renunciation of life by reason without faith, I, on awaking once more as a living man, became convinced that this despair is not the common lot of all men, but that men have lived and do live by faith. I saw around me men who possessed that faith, and who drew from it such a conception of life as endowed them with the strength to live calmly and joyously, and to die in the same manner. I tried to order my life in the same manner as the life of believers, I tried to fuse myself with them, to fulfil all that they fulfil in life and in external divine worship, thinking that by this means the meaning of life would be revealed to me. The more closely I approached these people and lived in the same manner as they, and fulfilled all those outward forms of divine worship, the more I felt two forces acting upon me in contrary directions. On the one hand, the sense of life undisturbed by death which satisfied me, revealed itself to me more and more; on the other hand, I saw that in that outward confession of divine faith and worship there was much falsehood. . . . I did not, as yet, doubt that the real truth of life was contained in the teachings of Christianity. My inward discord finally reached such a point that I could not deliberately close my eyes as I had done previously, and I was absolutely forced to examine that doctrine of belief which I desired to appropriate to myself."

After asking explanations of all ranks of the priesthood, the author undertook the study of theological books himself, and came to the conclusion that there is no church, "that the faith which our hierarchy confesses and teaches to the people is not only a lie, but an immoral fraud."

The reader must admit that such appalling frankness on the first page is not calculated to recommend what follows to the authorities. After considering the fact that the faith which has existed for 1,800 years is claimed in its purity by a thousand warring sects, Count Tolstoi turned to the foundation of the faith of all the sects, which is the revelation of Christ to be found in the Gospels. But he rejects the Church's interpretation of the Gospels because of the Trinity and other doctrines, which "cannot find lodgment in any sane mind"; and because there are a thousand equally authoritative interpretations instead of one, while their deductions are absurd. Nevertheless, an interpretation is required, and one in which all shall be able to agree. If the revelation is genuine, it need not fear the light of reason; if it proves to be nonsense, so much the better—we are rid of it. God can do all things but one—utter nonsense.

"By revelation," he says, "I mean that which furnishes an answer to the question which led me to despair and suicide, which cannot be solved by the understanding—What is the meaning of my life? This answer must be intelligible and not controvert the laws of reason; because I should not believe an answer which was contrary to reason. . . . The answer must be such that the meaning attributed to my life should solve all the problems of my life. The answer must be such that I could believe in it with all my soul and inevitably, as I inevitably believe in the existence of eternity. . . . Revelation is the knowledge of that to which man cannot attain by his reason, but which is brought forth for all mankind from the infinity of the beginning of all things. Such, in my opinion, should be the nature of the revelation which produces faith, and such I seek in the tradition concerning Christ, and therefore I turn to it with the strictest, most rational demands."

His statement that he does not read the Old Testament because it is merely a description of the faith of the Jews, which was merely local, from Adam's day to Christ's, and as foreign to us as the faith of the Brahmins, is not especially revolutionary, since the study of the Old Testament is not considered obligatory, nor, perhaps, even altogether desirable, in the Greek Church; but he denies the inspiration of the Old Testament, and accuses the Church of acknowledging this in words, but contradicting it in deeds to such an extent that it would never escape from the dilemma were sound sense in the least degree obligatory. And he blames the Church for having placed the seal of infallibility upon the books, "white, light, and gray" (*i. e.*, those containing more or less pure doctrine, which it recognizes as canonical), thereby depriving itself of the right to combine, exclude, and explain what it has accepted, as it is its duty to do, but as it has not done and does not do. "Hence, the miracles, the Acts of the Apostles, the counsels of Paul about wine, the ravings of the Apocalypse, etc., are all sacred, and, after an existence of 1,800 years, these books now lie before us in the same rough, in-

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coherent, imperfect, senseless, contradictory form as ever." In Tolstoi's opinion, the Apocalypse should be entirely, and the Acts of the Apostles in part, rejected, since the miracles related in the latter by Luke, though probably once aids to belief, are now sacrilegious and faith-destroying to the last degree.

Having rejected what precedes the four Gospels as merely historical material, and what follows as simply explanatory matter, Count Tolstoi states that what he shall seek to find in these remaining books is as follows:

"(1) What is intelligible to me, since no one can believe the unintelligible, and incomprehensible knowledge is the same thing as ignorance; (2) that which responds to my question, What am I, and what is God? and (3) What is the chief and only foundation of all revelation? And therefore," he continues, "I shall read incomprehensible, obscure, and half-intelligible passages, not according to my own pleasure, but in such a manner as to render them as compatible as possible with the perfectly clear passages, and to bring them into conformity with a single, fundamental principle. On reading the Scriptures and what has been written about them thus, not once or twice, but many times, I have come to the conviction that all Christian tradition is to be found in the four Gospels. I have read them in Greek, and translated as the sense and the dictionary indicated, only departing from the translations existing in modern languages where the Church has interpreted and defined the meaning of tradition in an eccentric way. In addition to the translation, I was irresistibly led to the indispensable fusion of the four Gospels into one, since they all set forth, although in different ways, the same events and the same doctrine."

After an exposition of the word gospel, as the announcement of true welfare or bliss to men, with reference to the Greek, Count Tolstoi begins his Combined Version by a consideration of the meaning of the word *logos* in the first verse of the first chapter of John. Out of eleven definitions he selects *reason* or *understanding*, and renders "In the beginning was the Word" thus: "The understanding of life was the beginning of all things." This he prefers as clearer and more exact, though he does not absolutely reject any other translation, admits the substitution of *reason* or *wisdom*, or even of *Word*, if this last be employed in a wider sense which is not natural to it. The second phrase presents further difficulties, but, after a consideration of the various possible interpretations of some of the Greek words, the author decides that "And the Word was with God" means "And understanding stood for God," *i. e.*, took the place of God. His final summing up of the first two verses which, in connection with his conclusion that Christ was not the Son of God in any exclusive sense, gives the keynote to his interpretation of the Gospels, runs as follows: "According to the announcement of bliss made by Jesus Christ, the understanding of life was the foundation and the beginning of all things. The understanding of life took the place of God, the understanding of life was God. According to the announcement of Jesus Christ, it became the foundation and beginning of everything instead of God."

Thus the author proceeds to examine the verses which follow, quoting the interpretation of the Church at length when necessary, furnishing his version in a column parallel with the accepted text when he differs from it, citing Reuss generally in partial support only of his views, discussing Greek words in their nicest shades of difference, and summing up episodes by a series of "general remarks." With this method, some repetition is inevitable. In pursuance of his plan of fusing the four Gospels into one, Count Tolstoi does not take his texts successively from the same chapter or even from the same Gospel, but considers them in the order which he attributes to them in the narrative of Christ's life, or as they bear upon or illustrate his topic; for his new Gospel is, to some extent, topical.

After this summary of his general plan, I may proceed to give detached specimens to illustrate the author's ideas on various interesting points, without seeking to connect them by the complete train of the argument. For instance: "Understanding is God; consequently, to become the son of God means to become the son of understanding. What is meant by *son?* In the third verse it is stated that all that was made (was born) was made by (or born of) understanding. What is born is a son, hence all of us are sons of understanding, and, therefore, *what does it mean to become the son of understanding?* Verse 4 furnishes the answer to this. It says that life lies in the power of the understanding. And therefore the sonship of the understanding has a double signification: one natural—that all are sons of understanding—and another depending upon the will of men, upon their acknowledgment of the dependence of their life upon understanding." Verse 18, which says, "No man hath seen God at any time," he uses as a final argument against Christ's divinity. "We cannot speak of a God who does not understand; there can be no other God than the one which is revealed by the Son of God—the understanding of life, if it consists in understanding. . . . The Son means life—the living man—as stated in the third verse, 'All that was born was born of understanding,' and in verse 4, which says, 'In him was life.' *The only begotten Son* means *the same as the Father; which is in the bosom of the Father* means that life, the living man, which is in the bosom (*i. e.*, which does not depart from understanding, blending with it), only points out the way to him, but does not reveal him." The general deduction is, that, "All that we know about God we know because we have understanding. And hence, the true beginning of everything is understanding." "The source of life—understanding—was in all the world, and in every living man. But living men, who were alive only because reason was in them, did not comprehend that they came forth from understanding."

Such being the foundation of the structure, it is natural that the author should speak of Christ's birth and baptism in terms which could never be approved by any church or state. The verses describing the descent of the Holy Ghost at the baptism speak, he says, "of a miracle, a supernatural and incomprehensible occurrence. These verses add nothing to the doctrine, but, on the contrary, they obscure it." His attitude on the subject of the miracles may be gathered from his remarks on that performed at the marriage in Cana of Galilee: "This occurrence, thus minutely described, is one of the most instructive passages in the Gospels—instructive as an example of the harm done by accepting literally the so-called canonical Gospels, as something sacred. The occurrence in Cana of Galilee offers nothing either interesting, or instructive, or noteworthy in any way. If it is a miracle, it has no sense; if it is a juggler's trick, it is insulting; if it is a picture of manners and customs, it is unnecessary." In some cases, he directs that the accounts of miracles be printed in small type, as an appendix, if at all.

All these heresies sink into insignificance, however, in the presence of the change which he makes in verses 38-39 of the eleventh chapter of Luke: "And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner. And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness." For *Pharisee*, Count Tolstoi substitutes *pravoslávny*, which is the word for a Greek Orthodox Christian. He makes the same change in the parable of the "two men who went up to the temple to pray, the one a Greek Orthodox Christian, the other a sinner; and the member of the Greek Church thanked God that he was not as other men are," and so forth. Personally, I do not agree with Count Tolstoi on this point. The average of hypocrites is much the same in Russia as in other countries, I should say; and the truly devout, who are by no means rare, while believing firmly in a church in general and in their own church in particular, are remarkably liberal towards other faiths, and not given to thanking God that they are not as others. I think that if *church-member* had been substituted for *Pharisee* and *publican*, it would have expressed the author's meaning more fully, since he does not believe in the necessity for any churches whatever, and quotes the Gospels as his authority. Even in that less personal form, however, it could hardly be expected to meet with approbation from the authorities, although in expounding the texts he restores the original words. In illustration of the manner in which he differs from the Church on almost every point, I may cite his opinion that Christ's words to Nicodemus about being born again are to be understood in directly the contrary way. "There is no sense," he says, "in understanding that a man must strive to be born from above and of the spirit; but that every man, because he is a man, is already and inevitably born of the spirit. . . . It must be borne in mind that all these appellations—(1) God, (2) Spirit, (3) Son of God, (4) Son of Man, (5) light, (6) understanding—have one and the same meaning, and are employed according to the relations in which they stand to the subjects under discussion. As the beginning of all things, it is God; as opposed to the flesh, it is Spirit; as related to its sources, it is the Son of God; in its revelation, it is the Son of Man; in conformity with the reason, it is light and understanding."

I will now turn to the Sermon on the Mount, which, as the readers of Count Tolstoi's later works are already aware, is, in his opinion, a summary of all Christian Law. To the rendering "Blessed are the poor in spirit" he emphatically objects. Had Christ referred to meekness, he would have said so clearly, he declares, and he argues from the Greek that the word used really signifies a beggar, a homeless vagabond, but without the scornful meaning which is attached to that expression; hence, in the first place, it is impossible to say "vagabonds in spirit"; and, in the second place, it is impossible because the whole Gospel teaches that we must elevate the spirit, live by the spirit; and, in the third place, Matthew says *blessed*, in general, are the pure in spirit, and then there are added the blessings flowing from this state of bliss. Among them, thirsting after righteousness is in no wise compatible with the conception of meekness. Even if the idea of thirst for righteousness does not contradict the idea of meekness, still it by no means springs from it. In the fourth place, all the blessings which follow must evidently be explained as arising from the first, because to the first blessing only are added the words, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." But the conceptions, *those that hunger after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart*, do not spring from the idea of meekness. In the fifth place, the rewards promised to the qualities enumerated are incompatible with the con-

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ception of meekness. *They shall see God, they shall inherit the earth, they shall be called the sons of God.* "From this it is plain that the translation *meekness* is entirely incorrect and impossible; that these two words in their connection have no meaning. . . . According to Luke, Jesus says: Blessed be *ye poor*, for yours is the Kingdom of God." (This is the English rendering. In the Slavic, which Count Tolstoi habitually quotes, it stands *poor in spirit.* But the word which he employs here—without reference to his authority—is *wanderer, vagabond.*) "John was a beggar, a vagabond. Jesus was a wanderer all his life. And Jesus teaches that riches cannot enter the Kingdom of God, that we must renounce everything, and so forth; and the whole of the Sermon on the Mount treats of hardly anything else." Tolstoi also calls "Blessed are the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers," obscure in meaning, and he notes that the Sermon begins with "Blessed are the *wanderers*," and ends in an injunction not to amass wealth, but to live as live the birds and the flowers of the field. "The words 'Blessed are ye poor wanderers, for yours is the Kingdom of God,' are no flowers of sentimental eloquence, like the words 'blessed are the pure in spirit,' and so on, according to Matthew, but a terrible idea for people who recognize that fine state of society which they have arranged for themselves, and the truth, full of joy, for all the unfortunate." In short, "ye are already in the Kingdom of God, because ye are poor wanderers. The Kingdom of God is open, accessible to the poor man, and closed against the rich man."

Such are the fundamental ideas of Count Tolstoi's interpretation of the Gospels. I am not sufficiently versed in the niceties of theology to be able to decide to which of the numerous sects these ideas most nearly approach. They are not unknown to the world as ideas, or as the special ideas of this gifted Russian author. It is not worth while to take up his whole combined version of the Gospels in detail. The denial of divinity to Christ involves certain views as to other portions of the narrative which the reader can easily foresee, while the various forms assumed by the cult of poverty at various epochs of the Christian era are familiar to all students of history. It is not in the novelty of his ideas that the objection lies, but in the fact that, in a land where Church and State are so closely united, he preaches the abolition of the Church (for that is what his interpretation of the Lord's Prayer is equivalent to). The meaning of this prayer, he says, is: "When ye pray, forgive, if ye have aught against any man, that your Father in heaven may also forgive your trespasses. But if ye forgive not, your Father which is in heaven will not forgive your trespasses. This," he continues, "is what should take the place of prayer. These words have no other meaning, but, as it has happened in many and many a case with the teachings of Jesus, the very words which he uses to reject all negative prayer have been taken, with slight and obscure additions, as a form of supplicatory prayer. How is it possible to say more clearly that it is not necessary to pray? The temple of sacrifice had been destroyed; it had been said: Not sacrifice is required, but love among yourselves; it had been said: God is a spirit, and we must work for him in deed and in spirit. Moreover, as though foreseeing how obstinately men would cling to prayer, he says plainly: 'Pray not in words. All prayer must consist in a desire for the Kingdom of God and the fulfilment of his rules, and all rules in not regarding any one as guilty, but in loving and forgiving all men.' And what comes of it? These very words in which he rejects prayer are taken for a prayer."

In short, while rejecting Christ's divinity, prayer, and nearly everything else which goes to make up Christianity in the general acceptation of the term, one can hardly refuse to Count Tolstoi the title of a Christian, since he holds by the two doctrines which Christ undoubtedly did teach more than all others, namely, poverty and love to one's neighbor. His preaching, therefore, is identical with the teachings of every church and sect, with the conclusions which any one may reach by reading the Gospels intelligently in their ordinary form. If, as is well known, the author is prevented by force of circumstances from putting one portion of his brief creed into as perfect practice as he would like, it is not for wealthy and warring churches to condemn him absolutely; although a due regard to circumstances, and to the danger of rebellious spirits accepting permission for him to publish his unconventional views as a license to them to reject even his valuable doctrines, must, necessarily, require that his utterances shall be kept from those whom they might harm and incite to other institutions closely allied to the Church. It is not likely that all readers would be moved almost to tears at the very name of Christ, as the author is.

ISABEL F. HAPGOOD.

Correspondence.

THE CAMPAIGN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is not an easy matter to retain one's sanity in the midst of an exciting political campaign, and to judge of its ultimate importance as moderately as if we occupied the position of our grandchildren with respect to it; but after divesting myself as thoroughly as possible of everything that would tend to increase unreasonably my sense of the importance of the present contest, I am compelled to admit that it contains two elements that promise to make it memorable for many years to come.

Experience will prove, I think, that we may date from this year the general acceptance of the tariff problem as an issue of overwhelming importance in American politics. The contest of 1884 was fought on a totally distinct line, and in previous contests the attitudes of the two parties were but imperfectly distinguished. I say this without regard to the outcome of the present election. If the worse comes to pass, and Mr. Harrison is elected, the lines are still fixed on which the canvass four years hence must be made. It is quite possible that, despite the fact that there has been a constant spread of sound ideas on this question, the popular mind may not be yet ready for decisive action. But the value of a campaign of the present kind in bringing home to the consciousness of the people the reality of great public questions, in awakening them to see that their dearest interests are affected by a policy which has been perpetuated for an altogether different reason from that which led to its adoption, and that the plea for the continuance of the protective system has been slowly changing for twenty years, until a temporary burden has become a perpetual and sacred charge—the value of such a campaign is, I say, incalculable. The fact is plain that the intricacy of our tariff laws, the difficulty surrounding the subject both in its practical and its theoretical aspects, the remoteness in which its workings have been studiously obscured, and the distrust that men naturally feel of figures which are made to serve both sides indifferently, have all contributed to lengthen the life of the protective system. But the moment that we realize that protection is a policy for which we are paying a recklessly extravagant price, that it is not a thing of distant, but of the most immediate concern to the humblest among us, its life is doomed. Popular realization of this fact, to the degree of making itself actively felt in a political campaign, we may, I think, date from the President's message of December last.

The change which has, as one of its effects, crystallized public sentiment upon the tariff question, involves a still larger and more important result. Thoughtful men for the last fifteen years have remarked that our politics have become steadily further removed from the real intellectual life of the nation. The energy of the entire nation has been more and more diverted from all objects of thought and reflection; our newspapers, more closely connected with politics than with the deeper and truer currents of national life, have encouraged the same mercenary spirit. I dare say our people have never seen the time when there was in public life less of patriotic spirit, less of commanding intelligence, than during this period. But while the manufacturer, the railroader, and the adventurer were holding high carnival in high places, the spirit was silently gathering before which the noxious growth was bound to disappear. The Administration of President Cleveland, with a strong and intelligent sentiment at his back, is the first decisive witness of the presence of this new power in the field, the first indication that the money idea has been, for once, humbled. Our politics, in a word, are beginning once more to feel the effect of ideas; the college, the university, science, and speculation are beginning once more to connect themselves closely with the general life of the nation. The change is slow and painful; it is not a march of uninterrupted victory—the forces of conservatism, of prejudice, of ignorance, dispute its advance stubbornly. But where victory will rest in the long run, no one who has observed the history of the human spirit can long doubt.

The opportuneness of President Cleveland, the completeness with which he meets the peculiar circumstances of the time, is remarkable. Had his appearance been premature, his bold stand for ideas would have evoked no response; had he come too late, he would have found no place. But he came at a time when the new spirit was just entering public life, when passions had cooled and thought grown sober—a man whom the new spirit had found a ready and capable servant, and who both served and fostered it. The tact with which he embraced the opportunity to unite and enthuse the Democratic party, and by which, at a single stroke, he elevated the tone of practical politics, might almost be called genius.

A change of this kind will soon affect the character of our statesmen, and in that event the vocation of a man like Mr. Blaine is gone. I do not say that he will lose his hold because people believe him corrupt in the sense that he is open to bribes, or has been so at any time of his career; but I do say that in a public life demanding sound ideas, liberal equipment, statesmanlike bearing, a man like Mr. Blaine—I use him as a type—who has instead of ideas, prejudices, instead of statesmanship, "politics," instead of sincerity, plausibility, instead of reason, bugaboos, can have no place. That he feels without comprehending the nature of the change, his pitiful floundering since his return from Europe abundantly proves; and I am inclined to believe that he has already lost something of his hold on his party managers, who

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see clearly his inability to meet the situation without perceiving that the reason is that a man of quite different stamp is required. The entire condition of the Republican party—without purpose, without ideas, hopelessly divided within itself, its sole safety in the efficacy of a "scare"—illustrates again how utterly inadequate tradition and machinery must always be to maintain a party as a living and moving organism; how essential it is to our safety as a nation that thought, knowledge, ideas, have free and easy play among us.

The tariff question is not, indeed, a question such as corresponds to and animates a nation at its most fertile epoch. But it happens at the present time to derive additional importance from its peculiar connection with many new difficulties, the proper solution of which bears closely on the most subtle principles of our political organization. In large terms, therefore, the issue is not between free trade and protection, or a revenue tariff and protection. The question is, Are we as a nation to cut loose from the intellectual life of mankind, and still longer to subsist on the memories of the war? Are we willing to fasten on our central Government a species of paternal authority? The re-election of President Cleveland may not settle for ever these fantastic notions; it may not, it cannot, permanently transform the atmosphere of public life. But it will propel us one step further towards that generous ideal, and give the vantage ground at least to the right. F.

Louisville, Ky., September 14, 1888.

SPECIALIZATION FOR LIBRARIES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The desirability of specialization and coöperation in library administration seems to be not sufficiently recognized by donors and trustees. Our libraries act for the most part independently, and enlarge their collections without systematic reference to each other. It thus happens that a specialist finds his material only after painful search, scattered unsystematically in libraries all over the country. No library in this age can be complete at all points; it must specialize in some single department. Indeed, the full literature of a single department is quite beyond the reach of any one library; and by complete in any one line we must understand a good working library, satisfactory to the special student and original investigator, as embracing all works which are really additions to the department. Such a complete library for zoölogy alone would cost, as estimated for me by competent authorities, from $100,000 to $150,000. A complete library for all branches is thus only possible for any large section of country through the systematic coöperative specialization in a large number of the most important libraries in that section. We may look for the founding of certain complete libraries, as, for instance, an art library in connection with an art institute, or a medical library in connection with a medical college; but still for literature, learning, and science in general we must look to this coöperative specialization by our general libraries, public and collegiate, to give the complete and accessible collections so urgently demanded.

The ideal library, and one quite possible to realize, is one in which the student, by consulting the bibliography of his subject, would understand by a system of checks what portion of the literature is immediately available, and also what is accessible in other libraries. Further, by a system of interchange, corresponding libraries might, within certain limits, draw books from each other for certain classes of patrons, specially for original investigators and literary men. Hiram M. Stanley,

Librarian Lake Forest University.

Notes.

Professor James Bryce's long-expected work, 'The American Commonwealth,' is on the list of the fall announcements of Macmillan & Co. Other significant issues are an edition of Wordsworth's Complete Poetical Works, with an introductory essay by John Morley, and an unpublished poem of considerable length; 'Letters of Keats,' edited by Sidney Colvin; 'Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1826–1836,' edited by Prof. C. E. Norton; 'William George Ward, and the Oxford Movement,' by Wilfrid Ward; 'Thomas Poole and his Friends,' by Mrs. Sandford; 'The Works of Edward Fitzgerald,' with a memoir, edited by W. Aldis Wright; a second series of 'Essays in Criticism,' by Matthew Arnold; a new volume of Essays by Prof. Huxley: 'A History of English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,' by Edmund Gosse; 'Night and Day Poems,' by Arthur Symons; 'Walpole,' by John Morley: 'A Tour in Holland and Germany,' by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy; 'Roman Mosaics; or, Studies in Rome and its Neighborhood,' by the Rev. Hugh Macmillan; 'Coaching Days and Coaching Ways,' by W. Outram Tristram; 'Wild Beasts and their Ways in Asia, Africa, America, 1845–1888,' by Sir Samuel Baker; 'An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture,' by Francis C. Penrose and W. W. Lloyd; 'A History of the Later Roman Empire, 395–800,' by John B. Bury; 'Montelius's Swedish Civilization in Heathen Times,' by the Rev. F. H. Woods; 'The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood,' by W. Holman Hunt; 'Two Chapters of Irish History,' by T. Dunbar Ingram; 'Tables of Income and Expenditure,' by Wm. Lloyd Birkbeck; 'The Lives of the Fathers' and 'The Bible: What It Is and What It Is Not,' by Archdeacon Farrar, and the following novels: 'The Aspern Papers, etc.' by Henry James; 'The Countess Eve,' by J. H. Shorthouse; 'Beechcroft at Rockstone,' by Charlotte M. Yonge; 'The Weaker Vessel,' by D. Christie Murray; 'Kophetua the Thirteenth,' by Julian Corbett.

Harper & Bros. will shortly publish 'Shoshone, and Other Western Wonders,' by Edwards Roberts.

'The Dramatic Year, 1887–1888,' a work by several writers, is in the press of Ticknor & Co., Boston.

'Wit and Humor; Their Use and Abuse,' by Prof. William Mathews, is announced for immediate publication by S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago.

Ginn & Co. announce a 'Hand-book of Arithmetic,' by G. C. Schultz. They are to be the American publishers of the London *Classical Review*, in the editorship of which American scholars will be hereafter associated.

An edition of Freytag's 'Die Journalisten,' edited by Walter D. Toy, Professor of Modern Languages in the University of North Carolina, is to be issued soon by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, together with Goethe's 'Torquato Tasso,' edited by Calvin Thomas, Professor of Germanic Languages at the University of Michigan.

A new and largely revised and rewritten edition of the 'United States Dispensatory' is nearly ready to be issued by J. B. Lippincott Co. The 'National Formulary' has been incorporated with it.

Mr. W. J. Ashley's 'Introduction to English Economic History and Theory,' which we lately had occasion to praise in these columns, has just been reissued in this country with the imprint of G. P. Putnam's Sons. From the same publishers we have 'Readings from Washington Irving,' quarried from the 'Sketch-Book' and the 'Alhambra'; a so-called "Katrina Edition" of the 'Sketch-Book,' with a dainty exterior; 'The Rose and the Ring,' in the "Nuggets Series," with Thackeray's illustrations, and a holiday edition of Misses Brackett & Eliot's 'Poetry for Home and School,' having 'The Silver Treasury' for its new trade title. This last work has been given broader margins, particolored borders, a handsome binding, and somewhat heterogeneous illustrations. The collection is an excellent one—to be criticised, if at all, in the most juvenile portion of it, which the compilers themselves felt to be of necessity the least satisfactory.

Harry M. Kieffer's 'Recollections of a Drummer-Boy' (Ticknor & Co.) has hit the popular taste to the extent of a sixth edition, now published in improved style and with a slight enlargement.

Judgments will differ as to how far Mrs. Burnett's amusing story of 'Editha's Burglar' can properly be styled "for children." It has, however, been offered them once more, in book form (Boston: Jordan, Marsh & Co.), and it is made more "real" by illustrations, and among these the portrait of a little girl who acts the part of Editha—"the original Editha," she is called.

One is surprised to learn, or to be reminded, that the late Edward Lear began his "nonsense" as far back as 1846. Now we have all four of his 'Nonsense Books' brought together in one volume, with all the illustrations, and with a capital portrait of the author, by Roberts Bros., Boston. It is fit to be a permanent memorial of a type of humorist, with pen and pencil, as delightful as he was original. The obituary notice copied from the *Saturday Review* gives welcome biographical details, revealing Mr. Lear in his own eccentric personality, as a landscape artist, and an ardent traveller to whom Tennyson, in his lines "To E. L. on his Travels in Greece," has accorded an immortality of musical verse like that which Browning confers on "Waring." This volume should be marked on every parental list for the holidays.

The new 'Worcester's Academic Dictionary,' published by J. B. Lippincott Co., has taken advantage of the most recent authorities on etymologies, in particular of Skeat and the 'New English Dictionary.' In the rather sparing illustrations, natural history has received more than its share of attention. Such familiar things, too, as a crown, a mallet, a screen, etc., might well have been omitted. New words have been pretty well looked after. We miss *boycott*, and the verb *to wire* (=to telegraph), though we have *to cable*. The typography is not as handsome as that of 'Webster's Condensed Dictionary,' but it is at least tolerable to the eyes.

A welcome tool is the 'Index to Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia' for the twelve volumes, 1876–1887. The compiler has been needlessly brief in making the entry—"Obituaries, in every volume." It should have been mentioned that the subjects of these obituaries are to be found in the main alphabet of this Index. We think it would be well to indicate this by an obelisk.

No. 8 of the papers of the New York Shakespeare Society, upon 'The Construction and Types of Shakespeare's Verse as seen in the Othello,' by Thomas R. Price, is an excellent examination of the metrical character of

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Shakspere's dramatic verse, not only in the "Othello," which is used merely as an example, but in all the plays. The unit is made the stave, as it has been defined by Dr. Guest in English metres and by Dr. Schmidt in classical metres; and by using this as the basis of analysis, Shakspere's most difficult verses are found to be regular. The insufficiency of the foot as a unit of structure in English poetry is notorious, and the substitution of the stave in its place is really a great gain as a means of reducing the harmonies of verse, as they exist in our greatest poets, to law. Dr. Price is brief and orderly in his treatment, and his study may be regarded as a valuable monograph in a field usually abandoned to incompetency.

Thos. Y. Crowell & Co. have added three new works by Victor Hugo to the translations from his writings now in course of publication by them: 'Notre Dame de Paris,' 'The Toilers of the Sea,' and 'Ninety-three,' each in two volumes. Last year they issued 'Les Misérables,' in five volumes, in the same series. 'Ninety-three' is translated by Mrs. Helen B. Dole, but all the others are the work of Miss Isabel Hapgood, whose conscientious faithfulness in rendering into English Victor Hugo's extravagantly heroic conceptions and language in 'Les Misérables,' has not deserted her in the two translations more recently published. The difficulties are so great in translating any work of Victor Hugo's into another language that both Miss Hapgood and Mrs. Dole are deserving of praise for making such vigorous and faithful versions in such an acceptable English form.

Geo. Routledge & Sons have published an English translation of M. Alphonse Daudet's 'Robert Helmont,' in an octavo volume, upon which they have lavished all the luxury of large print and thick paper, broad margins and profuse illustations. The translation is good, though, as might have been expected, the sparkling effervescence of Daudet's inimitable style is not attempted in the translator's easy and flowing narrative. This is sufficiently satisfactory, however, as this 'Diary of a Recluse'—Robert Helmont is a young artist detained by an accident in a deserted village not far from Paris, and concealed there during the siege—is written in Daudet's most subdued manner. The translation is by Laura Ensor, and the illustrations, those of the last French edition, by Montégut and Picard.

Mr. H. N. Fowler of Harvard University has contributed to the "College Series of Greek Authors" an edition of the fifth book of Thucydides (Boston: Ginn & Co.). Like the editions of the other books, so far as they have appeared, it is based upon Classen. But the entire freedom which the present editor, as well as his predecessors, has allowed himself in the revision of Classen's notes, and the extent to which he has drawn upon other editions and the researches of other and in some cases more recent scholars, renders him responsible and entitles him to credit for the whole. We have so recently reviewed in detail the editions of the fifth and seventh books that it is only necessary to add that the same general plan is carried out in this, and gives renewed assurance that the completion of the whole series will put us in possession of one of the most useful and scholarly editions of Thucydides that have appeared in this country or Europe.

We commend to teachers another text-book in a class abounding in poor ones, the 'Eclectic Physical Geography,' prepared by Russell Hinman, and published in Cincinnati by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co. The scheme of this work is very rational, and the presentation attractive, and there is a marked absence of rubbish. The publishers have, as usual, done their part admirably: type, paper, and illustrations are excellent.

Chas. Scribner's Sons have issued a folio 'Citizen's Atlas of American Politics, 1789–1888,' the timely embodiment of electoral, tariff, and population statistics in colored maps and graphic charts, by Fletcher W. Hewes, author of 'Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the United States,' from which a certain number of plates have been borrowed. This work offers endless study to the curious, at the same time that it presents compactly and strikingly the salient features of our political and economic progress. The maps of the successive Presidential elections since 1824 will arouse a particular interest at this time. Two, on the largest scale, show the popular vote by counties (numbered for reference and comparison) for 1880 and 1884. Others exhibit the leading foreign nationalities. The charts deal with receipts and expenditures, balance of trade, customs revenue, importations, prices, wages, cost of living, etc. The explanations are creditably clear and ample, and authorities are scrupulously named.

Miss Kate Sanborn is, we believe, first in the field with a calendar—"The Rainbow" (Ticknor & Co.). Its daily leaves are freighted with extracts from all sorts of authors and styles. But where in her "Milton" did Miss Sanborn (under January 7) find the stanza—

> "Let fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,"

etc.?

The Richmond and Twickenham *Times* of August 4 contains a full account of the recent two hundredth-anniversary celebration of the birth of Pope, which was most remarkable because of the fine loan-collection of articles relating to the poet. This consisted of rare editions, portraits, caricatures, autograph letters, early manuscript-notes, furniture, ware, etc., and is fully described in the catalogue, which can easily be procured by post. Prof. Morley delivered a long and eulogistic address, in which he took the most favorable view of Pope's infirmities. There was a water-fête on the river, which was unfortunately interfered with by the bad weather of the season. The celebration lasted through an entire week, and its promoters seem to deserve congratulations for their energy and success. At the same time the British Museum exhibited a smaller collection of similar curiosities. This issue of the local newspaper is filled with excellent articles upon Pope's relations with his publishers and with women, on the costumes of the time, and other matters of similar interest, and is adorned with wood-cuts of Pope, his mother, Martha Blount, Swift, and others—among them Austin Dobson and the principal promoters of the enterprise—as well as with pictures of the grotto and the villa. It is in itself an interesting relic of the occasion.

Mr. S. S. Rider, in his *Book-Notes* for September 15 (Providence), explodes once more what he calls "the perennial pig story"—the war of 1812 having long been popularly assigned (with more or less seriousness) to a dispute between two Providence citizens over a trespassing pig. This story last appeared in *St. Nicholas* for July.

The most noteworthy paper in the September Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society is an account of the Little Andaman by Maurice Portman. This island, the southernmost of the group of this name in the Bay of Bengal, is interesting from the fact that it has remained from time immemorial (till very recently absolutely) shut off from intercourse with the rest of the world, the natives invariably killing every stranger who fell into their hands. Mr. Portman, having succeeded in winning their confidence, was at length, in 1886, permitted to spend a few months among them. He describes them as "probably the most intensely black race in the world," though "they have none of the thick lips, high cheek-bones, and flat noses of the negro type." He was not able to discover that they had any religion whatever, nor could he learn of any traditions or superstitions. "Among themselves they are most gentle and good-natured, holding most things as common property; theft is almost unknown, and towards each other they seldom lie. With a strict monogamic system of marriage, infidelity and all attendant crimes were very rare." They are, according to Prof. Flower, "probably the purest examples still remaining of one of the large branches of the human race which, according to the modern view, was at one time widely spread over the southern portion of India, the Malay Peninsula, the Indian Archipelago, and New Guinea," and by some regarded as the original population.

The last Bulletin of the Société de Géographie is devoted to the French navigator, La Pérouse, the centenary of whose death was celebrated by the Society in April. It contains the papers read on this occasion, an account of his private life by his grand-nephew, of his voyages by M. de Courcel, and a description of the manner in which the relics of the expedition were found at Vanikoro, an island some distance north of New Caledonia, by Vice-Admiral Paris. There are also various documents relating to his last expedition and its personnel. Among these are extracts from a journal kept by La Pérouse while in command of the *Amazone*, then forming a part of the fleet of D'Estaing, in which he describes his capture of the British frigate *Ariel* off Charleston, September 10, 1779. There are also given some "Notes," found in the papers of M. Barthélemy de Lesseps, father of the great engineer, who was sent by La Pérouse from Kamtchatka across Siberia with despatches, and so escaped the fate of his commander. A bibliography of works and papers relating to the navigator or his expedition which have appeared down to the present time, prepared by M. G. Marcel, contains 386 numbers.

—The October *Harper's* special article is a survey of the Western and Southwestern press, with many portraits of editors, by Z. L. White. It gives a brief account of the history of particular papers, and naturally makes prominent the most startling successes of Western journalism and the careers of the most enterprising editors. It is observable that the ideal of the newspaper, as a history of the world for one day, which puts news in the first place and hardly takes account of editorial opinion, dominates the development of journalism; that the press, generally speaking, has tended towards independence of political parties; and that something like a copartnership between great papers of different cities points to still greater simplifying of the business of news-gathering, and to more uniformity in the matter given in different areas of circulation. The physiognomy of the faces shows a marked predominance of the Yankee type, and exhibits in nearly all a nervous strength, determination, and a certain concentration, the marks of work done. They are interesting for comparison with the series of authors lately given, or those of the generals with which the *Century* has provided us in such numbers. They approach the type of "business men," and from the literary standpoint this is a noticeable fact. Another prominent article is a very full account of the arts of Limoges, especially that

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of the Haviland porcelain, which, as an American enterprise established on foreign soil, has a curious interest. In this case it was the employer who exported himself, instead of importing labor and material. A better illustration of the vast advantages, in competition with European labor, enjoyed by American talents and methods, could hardly be desired. The mechanical processes in making the ware are amply illustrated. The more ancient art of enamelling also receives attention in the paper. Dr. Coan's advice upon how to use the various native and foreign mineral waters at home is a valuable medical article, and covers a wide field with clear and explicit directions. The remainder of the number is filled with travel and fiction of the ordinary kind, and is noticeable only for the batch of old English songs with Abbey's illustrations, which break the solid body of the magazine and give a lighter appearance to the pages.

—If readers turn at once to the paper of ex-Secretary McCulloch in the *Scribner's*, neglecting the other attractions of an unusually good issue, they will find a very noteworthy essay upon the state of the country. The three vital problems before us as a business community are said to be the decay of shipbuilding, the tariff, and the extension of our foreign markets. The history of our trade and revenue with respect to these points is broadly told, and the present conditions affecting them succinctly stated, so that the reader is put in possession at once of the facts and of their bearing. The conclusions drawn are explicit and very trenchantly worded. Mr. McCulloch insists that our policy with respect to ships is barbarous, and will necessarily debar us from being a commercial nation if persisted in; and he argues that no nation ever has been or ever will be great which was not first commercial. As to the tariff, his views are well known, but they have never been so forcibly put forth, and seldom do we have a broad discussion which keeps so close to the plain facts of the situation. He deals also with two other main questions, that of the taxation of land according to Henry George's theories, and that of naturalization and manhood-suffrage for cities. The first of these is approached in a temperate manner, but with steady, destructive criticism. He will not admit that the land which the Western pioneers overcame was the gift of God in the sense of being a free gift, nor does he rate its value in the mass as higher than that of the labor expended upon it; and from this initial position he argues to the conclusion that land should be most lightly taxed, with passing remarks upon socialistic hopes and human nature which may be recommended as a sobering draught to those who feel the great attractions of the millennium. Finally, he regrets the granting of the suffrage to the foreign-born, and advises property qualification for municipal voting. These latter positions, however, are not argued, and can rank only as expressions of opinion. The article should have a wide currency, because it deals with real questions ably and in an entirely frank spirit. Readers will find for themselves the charm of Lester Wallack's reminiscences, which are admirably recorded, and promise yet better things to come. Of Prof. Hadley's fine article upon the relation of railroads to business, and of the other lesser papers, all excellent, we have left no room to speak. The number is one with which the editors may well be proud to close the second year of the magazine.

—The fourth volume of Stedman and Hutchinson's 'Library of American Literature' (Chas. L. Webster & Co.) confirms our previously expressed opinion of this work, viz., that it is a selection marked by essentially sound judgment and a praiseworthy plan. The politico-historical value of it when completed will be very considerable, as will also its educational influence if the edition reaches the figures to which we are accustomed in the case of successful subscription books. In order to be both generally and individually representative, some matter has been admitted which is of little worth from a literary point of view. The verse of such masters of prose as J. Q. Adams and Daniel Webster might be cited for examples. And speaking of Adams, we could wish that the editors had extracted some of that "natural and spontaneous eloquence" the lack of which in himself the "old man eloquent" so unjustly deplored. So we should have liked to see some of Alexander Hamilton's letters drawn upon. This statesman has his character delineated by Fisher Ames, Harrison Gray Otis, and Eliphalet Nott. Fisher Ames and John Marshall pronounce upon Washington, and William Sullivan describes our first President's receptions in a manner which forcibly reminds us of time's changes towards democratic simplicity. The veracious Weems's anecdotes of the Father of his Country have a new lease of life not undeserved by this clergyman's happy knack of telling a story. Of other biographical touches by contemporaries, we may mention Joel Barlow and Elkanah Watson on Thomas Paine, William Wirt on Patrick Henry, and Webster's portraits of Theophilus Parsons and Thomas Jefferson. Webster, Lyman Beecher, and Hannah Adams speak of and for themselves. The Expounder of the Constitution is well represented except at his basest.

—A timely interest pertains to the extract from Josiah Quincy's speech on the struggle for patronage (1811), and to that from Mathew Carey describing the dreadful demoralization caused by the outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793. A large portion of William Austin's 'Peter Rugg,' the New England Wandering Jew, is reproduced, and shows no marks of fading. William Tudor's character of the Bostonians is also fitly revived, and can be commended for instruction, especially in what relates to their coldly critical attitude towards oratory. We are much mistaken if this does not, in connection with the general enlightenment of the community, account in large measure for the incomparable line of orators which the Massachusetts capital can boast. Most curious of all the entertaining contents we have found Royall Tyler's diatribe in 1809 against certain cant English expressions. Almost every one that he specifies has held its own to this day—not in *frequency* of use, to be sure, but still in use and in intelligibility, *e. g.*, "all the rage," "quiz," "quizzical," "bore," and "horrid bore," "I owe you one," "That's a good one," and "clever" and "clever fellow." "Clever," says Tudor, was "not used by any English prose writer of eminence until the reign of George the Third, nor ever introduced into a serious poem until adopted by Cowper." Its American sense, of 'good-natured,' "which signification is sanctioned by Bailey's and the elder English dictionaries," is preferred by Tudor to the English sense of 'skilful, adroit.' But eighty years have ended a very general prevalence here, at least in cultivated circles, of the foreign usage of this "pert adjunct." Tyler's portrait, by the way, together with Brockden Brown's, Barlow's, and many others, adorns the volume.

—Mr. Richard A. Proctor's untimely death is lamentable on every consideration. Born in 1837, with a constitution of insufficient vigor to support an exceptionally active mind, he had still reason for looking forward to a quarter century of literary work, continually improving in quality with the ripening of his scholarship and literary judgment. Nothing shows this better than his 'Old and New Astronomy,' of which nearly the half is already issued. It is by far the best of Mr. Proctor's works; and all his previous labors—books, lectures, essays—were, he says, merely preparatory for it. It is gratifying to learn that his death is not likely to interfere with the completion of this book, as he leaves the MS. far advanced, if not entirely in hand. It is hardly possible to mark the limit of the scientific good such a man has done, and would have continued to do. That he wrote much trash, no one will deny; but he wrote a vast deal that was not, and any one caring for a just estimate of his life must form a critical judgment of this also. Few scientific authors have had so large an audience, and few have, we imagine, all told, contributed more than he to the correct information of the multitude in matters scientific. He had little respect for mere authority, and would as unhesitatingly attack the statements of the greatest astronomer as he would expose the error of an unpretending amateur. As a consequence, he made frequent exhibition of the blunders of others. Not that he never made mistakes himself—only drones are exempt from such misfortunes; but his mistakes are few in proportion to his activity.

—By an unfortunate idiosyncrasy of temperament, Mr. Proctor seems never to have lost an opportunity for controversy; but his grounds were in the main well taken, and still better held, and his assailants were usually worsted. To know something of the extent and variety of his contributions to astronomical literature, one has simply to consult Houzeau's 'Bibliographie Générale de l'Astronomie,' and verify a score or two of the more important references to Proctor's articles. They cover a period of seventeen years, from 1865 on, and number nearly two hundred. This activity has hardly a parallel among astronomers, his papers averaging nearly one to each month, while his writings range through every branch of astronomical investigation, and show a marked fertility of invention and facility of research. One recalls the remark of an eminent German astronomer, that Proctor should "be pinned down to routine work in some large observatory," with the feeling, nevertheless, that his life-work has perhaps been more effective than it would have been in such capacity. His researches into the structure of the stellar and nebular universe have given him a lasting name, and would be no discredit to any astronomer. Much the same might be said of his treatises on 'The Moon' and 'Saturn,' and the large 'Star-Atlas.' Latterly he abandoned original work almost entirely, but appears to have continued his writing under conditions of self-imposed activity. It was often impossible to take needed rest, so active was his mind on every matter which came to his notice. His life was worth a higher value than his brother scientists often set upon it, and we may liken him more to our own Mitchell, who, nearly half a century ago, gave American astronomy an impulse still plainly recognizable if one will, but of which even this subsequent generation is slow to accord him the credit.

—With the publication of volume twenty of the 'Lovsamling for Island' (covering the years 1868 to 1870, inclusive), all the important laws relating to Iceland from the year 1096 to the present time are made easily accessible,

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For as regards the period subsequent to 1870, the annual volumes of the *Lovtidende for Kongeriget Danmark*, from and including 1871, when that publication commenced, have embraced, in a supplement, the yearly laws relating to Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and the Danish West Indies. Another volume of the Collection is yet to be published, however, the intention being to bring the series down to 1874, so as to cover the first one thousand years from the discovery of the wonderful island which lies so far away up under the arctic circle, but whose influence upon the political institutions of a large part of the world has been so remarkable. This terminal date is appropriately chosen, also, because in 1874 Iceland entered upon a new political era under the liberal constitution which went into effect on the first day of August of that year—the gift of King Christian IX. of Denmark to the people of Iceland upon their Millennium. The project of a collection of the important laws concerning Iceland originated with the two Icelandic scholars, Oddgeir Stephensen and Jón Sigurdsson, who presented, as far back as January 18, 1845, a memorial asking support from the Danish Government in the preparation and publication of such a work. This aid was granted them some years later, and they jointly edited the first fifteen volumes containing the laws, ordinances, etc., to 1854 inclusive. The two succeeding volumes, for the years 1855 to 1859, were prepared by Sigurdsson alone, and published in 1871 and 1877 respectively. But on December 7, 1879, death cut short the labors of this remarkable man, whose unusual scholarship had made his name familiar to the whole learned world, while his unswerving love for his native country had led him to dedicate his learning and talent solely to the advancement of the honor and welfare of Iceland. This consecration won for him the undying affection of his countrymen, who inscribed upon his coffin in letters of silver: "Iceland's dearest son: her glory, her sword, her shield." Mr. Stephensen again took up the work, and published, in 1884 and 1885, volumes eighteen and nineteen, covering the period from 1860 to 1867; but in 1885 he also was called upon to lay down his pen, after having rendered his country a long and faithful service as chief of the Icelandic Department at Copenhagen. The completion of the work was intrusted by the Danish Government to Mr. Stephensen's official successor, John Hilmar Stephensen, who is assisted by an official in his Bureau, Ólafur Halldórsson, and under their supervision volume twenty appeared last year in Copenhagen. This valuable work is not only of the first importance to the Icelandic jurist of to-day, but is indispensable for the student of the history of Iceland and the Scandinavian North.

TRAILL'S WILLIAM THE THIRD.

William the Third. By H. D. Traill. [Twelve English Statesmen.] Macmillan & Co. 1888.

Mr. Traill's book has not attained its object; it does not provide us with a picture of the Prince of Orange. Mr. Traill is as able a writer as Mr. Frederic Harrison or Mrs. J. R. Green, but he has failed where each of them has succeeded. Mr. Harrison has given, if not a perfect, yet certainly a striking portrait of the Protector. Mrs. Green has made Henry the Second for the first time to ordinary readers a vivid individual human character. Mr. Traill has written much about William which is worth reading, but he leaves us almost as ignorant of William's personality when we have ended the book as when we began it.

This failure of a skilful man of letters to produce a portrait of his hero is noteworthy. The failure does not arise from any lack of power on the part of our author. There seems to be something in William the Third's nature or position which makes it impossible to present Englishmen with an impressive portraiture of a statesman who conferred the greatest benefits on England. In this matter Macaulay has been no more successful than Mr. Traill. No historian knew better how to use strong colors and how to produce the strong effects which catch the public eye. In general he has impressed upon the popular imagination a distinct view of every man whose likeness he traced. Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Hastings, Burke, Hallifax, Johnson, Addison, and a score of others are to English readers known only from Macaulay's vivid descriptions. It is likely enough that as long as English literature endures, Johnson will, for ninety-nine men out of a hundred, remain the Johnson of Macaulay. Critics may show that Macaulay's likenesses were not true to life, but readers who know nothing of (for example) Chatham but what they learn from Macaulay, will always see the great Commoner as he is painted by the great Whig historian. As regards William it is otherwise. The King who expelled James the Second, secured the religious and civil liberty of England, and opened the reign of the Whigs, excited in Macaulay's mind all the enthusiasm and veneration of which the historian was capable. No one can doubt that William is the true hero of that fragment from the 'History of England' which was all that fate allowed its author to complete. One might have expected, therefore, that William the Third would have been drawn by his worshipper in lines as distinct, as marked, and unforgetable as those in which he has sketched Pitt or Johnson. This expectation has been utterly disappointed. From Macaulay we learn William's virtues and William's heroism; we do not learn to know William himself. The Deliverer remains a shadowy figure.

It is possible for Englishmen to know a good deal about William's work, it has not as yet been made possible for them to understand William's heart. If we ask, as any intelligent critic must ask, how it happens that William's personality becomes lost in his achievements, it is by no means easy to provide a satisfactory answer to a natural question. Here, as elsewhere, in attempting to solve historical problems, we must look not for a cause, but for causes. The reasons why William's personality is so much harder to seize than the individual character of any other among the twelve English statesmen whose lives will make up Macmillan's interesting series, are, it may be suggested, at least three-fold.

William, in the first place, though an English statesman, was not an Englishman. This means a good deal more than one thinks at first sight; it means that everything about him which was individual—all the petty traits which made Henry the Eighth, Elizabeth, Anne, or George the Third intelligible to the English people—were, in William's case, either not noticed or misunderstood by his English subjects.

In the second place, he was not only a foreigner, but a foreign diplomatist, whose aims, though beneficial to the world, and in the long run beneficial to England, were not English. To Cromwell, England was everything. He held theoretically that English interests ought to be postponed to the interests of religion or of European Protestantism; but he would have found it impossible to believe that any act conduced to the service of God which clearly was hostile to the greatness of England. With William it was otherwise. As a patriot he was not an Englishman, but a Dutchman; as a statesman, he was not nearly so much an English King as the leader of a great European alliance. He opposed France not from the wish to aggrandize England, but from the desire to preserve Holland from subjection, and to save the independence of European States. The term "English statesman," indeed, is a misnomer; he was a European statesman, and he occupies a place rather among leaders who have influenced the destiny of Europe than among the men who have moulded the policy and the Constitution of England.

In the third place, William's position in England was one which both the men of his own day and subsequent generations have found it hard to seize. This is the point on which Mr. Traill's book is most full of instruction. He points out that the attempt to make out of William a sort of ideal Whig monarch who in his policy anticipated the Whig constitutionalism of the eighteenth century, falsifies our whole view of his position and of the English Constitution as it existed immediately after the Revolution. Nothing is more certain than that the generation who welcomed "the glorious Revolution" did not intend to change the foundations of the English polity or to lessen the legitimate authority of the English Crown. Their notion was that William and Mary should possess all the prerogatives which could be legally claimed by Charles II. or James II. The King was to remain a power in the State, but to exercise his authority in conformity with the general will of the nation; William, in short, was to rule as Charles and James ought to have ruled. William, on his part, had no intention of being a *roi fainéant*—a king who reigned and did not govern. He intended, as his subjects intended, that he should be the true head of the Executive, and he intended, and his subjects allowed, that he should be his own Foreign Minister.

The singular feature in the history of the English Revolution is, that, partly from the inherent nature of things, partly from accidental circumstances, the conception of the royal position held both by the King and by the English people could not be permanently maintained. If William had had children, if any of Anne's children had lived, the Crown might have continued to be for a century longer a most influential if not a predominant power under the English Constitution. A national dynasty might have represented the nation. Anne, feeble as was her personal character, was not, as Queen, a nonentity: on her changing caprice did at times depend the policy of the State. But from the first the Revolution introduced changes more fundamental than were contemplated by its authors; it made the existence of Parliament permanent; it laid the foundations on which within a generation was erected the fully developed system of party government. This, however, was not the scheme of administration contemplated by William. He intended to choose his own ministers from all parties in the State. He had no wish to be the king of a party, and this for two reasons—a monarch who consents to be the head of a faction cannot hope to be supported by the loyalty of the nation; a king who becomes a party leader, in the long run subordinates the authority of the Crown to the will of a party.

The plain truth is, that, as in the time of Cromwell, so, though less clearly and distinctively in the time of William, two theories of parliamentary government presented themselves to the English people. The one plan was that the real monarch exercising royal prero-

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gatives for the benefit of the nation should be the true head of an independent Executive, which, though not appointed by Parliament, should loyally obey laws passed by the houses of Parliament and by the Crown, and should pay respect to the settled will of the nation, as expressed through the mouth of the House of Commons. The other plan was that the Executive should be more or less directly appointed by the party predominant in Parliament, and that party government should derive force and cohesion from the combined action of great aristocratic connections. Either scheme, be it remarked, involved the existence of parliamentary government. The one placed the appointment of the Executive in the hands of a king who should conform to and represent the national will; the other placed it in effect, though not in name, in the hands of the houses of Parliament, or, in effect, in the hands of the great Whig connection which at that period could control Parliament. From the one scheme it followed that the King should take a real part in legislation; from the other it followed that what is now inaccurately called the royal "veto" should become little else than an obsolete form.

William, and with him the mass of the nation, wished to give effect to what may be called the royal system of parliamentary government. Nothing can show this more clearly on the King's part than his refusal to approve bills which had passed through the two houses. His conduct in this respect is very noteworthy. He revived, in substance, the Cromwellian idea, and anticipated the Presidential practice of a suspensive veto. The Whig aristocracy, on the other hand, preferred the scheme of party government, which in those days and for a century later (as any one may see who studies Burke) was intimately connected with the permanent influence of the great Whig houses. The policy of the Whigs triumphed. This result was due, as already pointed out, to favoring circumstances: neither of the first two Hanoverian monarchs could play the part of a Patriot King. But it was due, also, to much deeper causes. The predominance of the Whigs was justified by the only plea which ultimately justifies political authority—exclusive capacity to rule a nation with a true view to national wishes and interests.

What, however, the student of William's life should bear in mind is, that the constitutional problems raised by the Revolution needed to be solved. Two solutions were theoretically possible. The one favored by William was not the solution favored by the Whigs and ultimately accepted by the country. The hero who saved English liberties did not sympathize with the policy by which alone, in the judgment of the Whigs, these liberties could be permanently preserved: the Whig monarch was not a Whig. Nothing has led to greater confusion than the attempt to represent a vigorous ruler, determined to exercise, for the benefit of England and the world, all the legal prerogatives of the English crown, as favoring a policy which ultimately put the crown, for fifty years at least, so to speak, into commission.

GREEK CERAMICS.

Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre. Par Albert Dumont et Jules Chaplain. Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1888.

It certainly does credit to French scholarship that the two most recent treatises on Greek ceramics, the only two, indeed, which embody the recent results of archæological research, together with the plentiful harvest yielded by excavations during the last ten or fifteen years, should have been published almost simultaneously in Paris, bearing the names of two former pupils of the French School of Archæology in Athens, MM. A. Dumont and O. Rayet. By a sad coincidence, these two works have appeared after the death of their authors, thanks to the devoted care of two younger scholars, MM. E. Pottier and M. Collignon. Dumont's 'Céramiques de la Grèce propre' and Rayet's 'Histoire de la Céramique grecque' do not cover exactly the same field, as the titles they bear might induce the reader to suppose. The former is a severe and scientific study of Greek ceramics down to the fifth century B. C.; the latter, while dwelling with sufficient detail on the same period, is more particularly interested in the description of Greek ceramic art during the brilliant phase of its career, from the time of the Persian wars to the death of Alexander the Great. Rayet's work is more specially intended for dilettanti at large, while Dumont wrote for professional archæologists. His intention had been to trace a complete history of Greek painted vases, without neglecting the period of splendor, nor the long and rather confused struggle against decay. This explains why the plates annexed to the volume just published, or, to speak more exactly, just completed, contain many subjects which are not dealt with in the text; but they will be gladly accepted as a supplementary gift, M. Pottier having added in an appendix a short though admirably precise description of these fine specimens, engraved from the drawings made at Athens by M. Chaplain.

However charming the aspect of these plates may be, we cannot refrain from thinking that, if M. Chaplain's drawings had been reproduced by some mechanical process, instead of being handed over to an engraver, the result would have been, from a purely scientific point of view, superior to what it actually is. The engraver has a certain tendency to soften the asperities of the design, to attenuate the original coarseness of certain figures; and whoever is closely acquainted with Greek vases will certainly regret not to find, on some of the plates, the *tenor antiquus* which he is accustomed to. But we must hasten to add that, in the large number of forty plates, there are a great many which are highly satisfactory, and give as complete an idea of the originals as any plate published in the 'Monumenti dell' Instituto,' or the 'Auserlesene Vasenbilder' of Eduard Gerhard. This is especially the case with the beautiful engravings of Attic funeral *lecythi*, those unequalled masterpieces of pure Hellenic elegance and simplicity.

The study of Greek ceramics is no longer what it was in the days of Gerhard and Panofka. Not only have the materials immensely increased; not only have quite new series, such as those of Hissarlik and Thera, been added to the stock of primitive Grecian ware, but the method itself of ceramical study has undergone a very complete change. Formerly—that is, until about 1865—attention was particularly directed to the mythological scenes figured on the painted vases. Great efforts were made to explain these scenes by the aid, more or less forced, of the well-known or the most obscure legends of Greek mythology. When these were insufficient to explain the data, bold interpreters did not refrain from coining new legends, or from calling in the help of the very little we chance to know about ancient mysteries and secret worship. The new school of archæology does not disdain the exegetical task which its predecessors submitted to with an immense display of learning and tremendous labor, but the belief has gradually gained ground that mythological interpretation is not the chief point to be aimed at by the ceramograph. The huge quantity of vases which fill our museums must be classified in accordance with their shapes, the various motives of decoration displayed upon them, the inscriptions or *graffiti* which they bear; care must be taken to distinguish the different schools of art they belong to and the local workshops from which they originated. In a word, the vases have ceased to be, at least exclusively, mythological or artistic documents; they have been drawn into the wide sphere of historical research, and made to serve as tests not only for the history of ancient art, but for the history of civilization, commerce, and industry. M. Dumont's volume is a very fit demonstration of the important results which may be realized by this new method.

M. Dumont was a prudent, perhaps even an over-prudent, archæologist; he discarded many theories, by proving that they were at variance with the facts, but he did not indulge in the easy and rather vain sport of erecting new scaffoldings by the side of those he had just pulled down. He never goes beyond his facts, though he knows how to obtain from them all the information they can yield to a systematic and not over-ingenious inquiry. His method is more analytical than synthetical, and his style is in accordance with the scientific severity of his method. After having described with much accuracy the vases of Hissarlik, Thera, Mykenæ, Spata, and Ialysos, he comes to the conclusion that the vases of Thera are older than the sixteenth century B. C., that those of Hissarlik are more ancient still, and that the Mykenian ware is somewhat later than the Ialysian. He then proceeds to show how the Greek and the Oriental traditions concerning the early history of the Ægean may receive new light from the results of ceramography; but he is content with a few hints on the matter, and does not even venture a guess at that much-disputed problem, the ethnographical connections of the Pelasgi. If archæologists could take example of Dumont, much waste of paper and time might be avoided; but it is not probable that the generality of them will consent to do so.

Next to the vases of the very primitive classes just alluded to, we meet with the ceramics of geometrical design, which have been divided into two series: the vases of the Ægean (*type des îles*) and the well-known Dipylon vases found at Athens. In opposition to the views of Prof. Conze, lately adopted by O. Rayet, Dumont does not believe the geometrical style to be a mode of decoration peculiar to the Aryan races; many specimens of the same ornamental system occur in early Chaldean art, and it seems natural enough to think that the adoption of such simple patterns cannot be considered as the characteristic feature of Aryan taste and industry. The influence of Oriental (in particular of Assyrian) art begins to make its appearance on Greek pottery immediately after the full development of the geometrical Dipylon style. Hence those numberless vases which are commonly called Corinthian (although they were not painted in Corinth alone), and in which the floral ornaments, the processions of Asiatic animals, and the taste for symmetrical arrangements, clearly betray the imitation of Oriental models, perhaps of Oriental tapestry.

Little by little, the human figures, which are very rare in the earliest specimens, become more numerous and take up a larger place in the Greco-Oriental vases. The result of this evolution is the Rhodian type, presenting a

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mixture of the Corinthian and of the geometrical style. Dumont studied the vases of these several series with remarkable critical acuteness and a profound knowledge both of Oriental and of Hellenic art. In the following chapters, which he had left imperfect, the foot-notes are all due to M. Pottier, who has enriched them with an astonishing fulness of bibliographical and technical information. The series dealt with in that part of the work are the black Etruscan and Grecian ware, ancestors of the Roman ware which is so improperly styled Samian, the enamelled pottery which is generally called Rhodian, and the elegant vases affecting the shape of human heads.

A long and very good chapter is devoted to the Cypriote vases, the classification and chronological arrangement of which have been so greatly improved by recent excavations. This forms the conclusion of the Second Part, after which begins the study of the Melian vases, similar in style to the chest of Kypselos described by Pausanias, and of the Second Corinthian series, where the mythological subjects and the representations of human beings become decidedly predominant at the expense of the Oriental motives. Corinthian ware of the Second style was also fabricated in Italy, especially in the old town of Cære, where so many specimens of it have been brought to light during the present century. Kirchhoff has demonstrated, by the study of the inscriptions, that a number of similar vases, formerly confounded with the ware of Corinth and of Cære, must be attributed to Chalcis, or to the Chalcidian colonies on Italian soil. This is one of the most important discoveries of recent ceramographical research, and has been very well illustrated by MM. Dumont and Pottier.

A rather queer series of vases, the most celebrated of which is the cup of Arcesilas in the National Library in Paris, has been successively attributed to Cyrene, to Crete, and to the Peloponnesus. M. Pottier has given good reasons for transferring its origin to Naucratis, the most important settlement of the Greeks in Egypt. The question cannot be solved with certainty until new excavations have been made in Cyrenaica; unfortunately, the political state of that region renders it almost inaccessible to scientific research, however tempting its prospects may be.

The last chapters of our volume concern the black-figured vases of Athenian manufacture. Athens has become the intellectual and artistic metropolis of the Hellenic world, and its supremacy in that respect will remain unshaken for several centuries. The recent discoveries on the Acropolis have given proof that the red-figured ware is not, as was generally believed, later than the Persian wars, but that it was already flourishing in the time of the Peisistratidæ. As the black-figured ware is unquestionably more ancient, we are led to remove its origin far beyond the beginning of the sixth century B. C.; the Dipylon vases must be at least two centuries older, and this brings us to a period which is not far distant from that of the Homeric poems.

M. Pottier has added to this valuable work a very complete index, and, last but not least, several pages of addenda, brimful of bibliographical references, including a brief mention of all the books, magazine articles, and discoveries relating to archaic Greek pottery up to the middle of the current year. All future writings on that intricate subject will have to take Dumont's work as a starting-point; we cannot conclude this review with higher praise.

GOSSE'S LIFE OF CONGREVE.

Life of William Congreve. By Edmund Gosse. London: Walter Scott; New York: T. Whittaker. 1888.

Mr. Gosse has the distinction of being the first biographer of Congreve. The trustworthy notices of his life are scanty, and especially wanting in the element of personal interest. Thackeray, it is true, built up a fine figure for us to have in our fancy when Congreve's name is on the lips, but he plainly outdid nature, and drew with the pen of the world's satirist, not of the literary investigator. Mr. Gosse holds this latter office. The range of his knowledge of the infinitely little is equalled only by the patience with which it has been acquired. He has a positive genius for the resurrection of dry bones, and, thanks to this, we have now a singularly excellent life of the wittiest English dramatist. It does not tell us much about Congreve personally, because there is little to tell; but it corrects some misconceptions, fills up some blanks, reduces some dates to accuracy, and gives us a just general conception of what Congreve was to his contemporaries; and, besides this, it sketches very completely the history of the stage during the poet's connection with it.

The most important modification made is that which destroys the notion that Congreve lived as a golden youth in a golden shower of sinecure offices. He had some patrimony, and the income from his literary work, which was no doubt considerable, but his offices came slowly, after some tedious waiting; he complains that he has not enough "to have the few people that I love as near me as I want," speaks of the many "fair promises" that come to nothing, and invokes his philosophy to bear him out. A passage from Swift's poems points to anything but superfluous riches as his lot, and Swift thought it necessary to recommend him to the Lord Treasurer, when the change of parties came, and Congreve was made anxious for fear he should be deprived of what little he had. Altogether, Mr. Gosse's view that Congreve is not to be considered rich until after he was forty, is so well supported that, in the absence of any positive facts to the contrary, it must be accepted.

But if he was not the favorite of fortune he has been depicted, he had his full share of favor. Whether his position, his friends, or his talents be regarded, he was at all points enviable. Dryden acknowledged him, with public praise as well as private kindness, as the heir-apparent to the literary throne; his youthful fame was immediate and great, and was grounded on such abilities as needed not to fear lest it should not be supported by mature genius; the town liked him, the literary circles were proud of him, and he had health, mind, and art in his own right. But he ended at thirty in the gout. Twenty-seven years more he lived, the victim of a broken constitution, in virtual retirement, with pain and partial blindness to afflict him, and intellectual tastes, friendships worth having, and at least £1,200 annually in sinecures to lighten his lot; but it was, after all, a failure. The best thing we know of him is that he kept his friends. There are many contemporary notices of his amiability, his good manners, his delightfulness socially; but without them we should know that the man in whose chambers Steele and Swift might have met, and Dennis and Pope might hope to be reconciled, was a liberal-minded gentleman, with tact and discretion enough to serve in any social emergency. The quarrels of the rest never disturbed the serene atmosphere of the rooms where they all liked to be. It is significant that he is called "unreproachful." He had kindness for all. When one remembers, moreover, that he was by common consent the wittiest man of his time in private talk, the wonder grows that he was so free from offence; for wit is as near akin to malice as pity is to love.

To complete the slight characterization, he was a good scholar and a man of pleasure. His genius was eminently intellectual. This comes out in his criticism, which shows studious cultivation and clear, keen thought. His remarks on the Pindaric ode belong to the best order of criticism, and were, moreover, serviceable: they mark the interregnum between Congreve and Gray, and prophesy the latter's verse-form. A surer sign of the intellectual base of his nature is that the one overmastering quality of his comedies is their style. Putting aside the wit and the life and the humanity (such as it is) that they contain, there remains still the exquisite charm of the words which fall upon the literary sense like honey from the honeycomb; nor would we hesitate to say that Congreve's style in the comedies has a quality as unique as Shakspere's prose—a perfection of form seldom equalled and nowhere surpassed even by the great prose masters of his own age; not by Bolingbroke, nor by Swift, though their writings were on the grander scale. This is Congreve's distinction in our literature, that he has the most intellectual refinement of any of our comic dramatists and easily leads them; in fact, the purely intellectual element, both in the form and the interest, tends rather to the injury of his plays, which the theatre found deficient in action. He was observer and satirist enough to be a dramatist, and he was, besides, a great writer so far as the mere art is concerned; he was, besides, something of a poet, and it is interesting to remark that he was really a student of verse-structure (as is proved by his criticism of the Pindarics), and derived from Milton, as Mr. Gosse thinks, some of his cadences in blank verse. This was while Milton's fame was in its nonage. It is more certain that his influence upon the blank verse which began with Thomson and expired in Wordsworth was considerable, and that Collins learned from him how to write odes, not scrupling even to imitate him with unmistakable directness. Nor is it without justification that a parallel has been made of Keats's famous lines—

> "Still, still to hear thy tender-taken breath,
> And so live ever, or else swoon to death"—

with Congreve's conclusion to the "Ode on Mrs. Arabella Hunt Singing":

> "Wishing forever in that state to lie,
> Forever to be dying so, yet never die."

Congreve's literary influence, although it must be acknowledged that the next age in poetry remembered him only to improve upon him, was far from insignificant, and he little deserved the contempt he has sometimes received. Nevertheless, the impression one has of him is of a genius which made only an imperfect expression of itself; of a man with more mind than his few comedies could hold, with tastes, culture, curiosity, a naturally fertile nature richly developed, but leaving no memorial of itself equal to its value. Ill health, in connection with the laborious care with which he composed, is perhaps the secret of the matter; perhaps, too, there was the indolence that goes with such superb social gifts as Congreve delighted his companions with. Or it may be that early fame had brought early ennui, especially when the dramatist found his work was too well done, too refined in quality to tickle the lungs of the vulgar. He became sterile, and the activity of genius gave way to the pleasures of taste. He was one of the first to collect pictures in England.

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In connection with the latter days of Congreve, one should note the new turn which Mr. Gosse ingeniously gives to the best known anecdote of the poet—that in which Voltaire figures, and replies to Congreve's hint that he desired to be visited as a plain gentleman by saying, "Had he been so unfortunate as to be a mere gentleman, I should never have come to see him." Mr. Gosse reminds us that Congreve had long been silent, his literary ambition dead, and in its place, perhaps, an old man's chagrin. If Congreve had really been a snob of this sort, Mr. Gosse goes on, if he had "entertained a mean idea of the literary profession, we should have heard of it from Swift or Pope." That is certainly very probable. Voltaire, in a word, mistook a modest disclaimer of the compliments he had brought with him for an insult to the literary profession. It is an interesting view of the conversation, and inasmuch as there is no other evidence that Congreve preferred being "a plain gentleman" to the fame which had flattered him when Dryden handed down the laurel, one cannot but rejoice to have so easy a defence. But no defence can serve for our poet's abandonment of Mrs. Bracegirdle with the paltry legacy, and nothing can extenuate the mortal comedy of his end as a *bon viveur* when the Duchess of Marlborough, whom he had made his heir, placed his waxen effigy at her table, so contrived as to nod when she spoke to it, wrapped its feet in cloths, and had a physician to attend upon it and render a daily diagnosis. With the seven thousand pounds remaining from the legacy, after this pleasant whim was satisfied, the young Duchess bought a diamond necklace. Mrs. Bracegirdle, the favorite of his early years, the woman for whom he had written the best of his characters and who shares his theatrical fame, was poor, but she shielded Congreve's memory by her silence, while the Duchess blazoned his infatuation by her diamonds. This was a death scene for a comic dramatist to observe.

Of Mr. Gosse's fidelity in research and of his extraordinary success in recovering the meaning and bearing of anonymous passages and obscure allusions in the waste-basket of literature, one cannot speak too highly. The theatrical annals in particular are well attended to. Nowhere else shall we find so full and orderly an account of the controversy over the morals of the stage which Jeremy Collier set in motion; and at frequent intervals one comes upon minute facts about the minor literature and writers of the times which are valuable to the close literary student.

A DILAPIDATED EMPIRE.

Through the Yang-Tse Gorges; or, Trade and Travel in Western China. By Archibald John Little, F.R.G.S. 2d ed. London: Sampson Low. 1888.

In this volume Mr. Archibald Little describes his voyage up a considerable portion of the Yang-Tse-Kiang, the great river which bisects the Chinese Empire. The scenery along this route is of the sublimest character, and Mr. Little expatiates upon it with an amplitude that is excessive. The main interest, however, of his volume arises from the light that it casts indirectly upon the internal state of China, the character of its singular people, and the efficiency or otherwise of its singular administrative system. On these subjects Mr. Little has much to tell us that is interesting and suggestive.

The position of China, in its relations to the western world is, at the present time, of a truly extraordinary character. Half-a-century ago, the isolation in which the Chinese elected to live was regarded by the western world as constituting a standing outrage upon humanity at large, which justified any action that tended to break down the barriers in which they had intrenched themselves. And, as a matter of fact, these barriers were broken down at an inconceivable cost to the Chinese. In the wars carried on against the Chinese Empire, either by the British alone, or in alliance with the French, the loss of life and the destruction of property incurred by the Chinese, although enormous, constituted the least part of the evil. The worst part was the loss of authority by the Imperial Government and its agents throughout the country, the hordes of brigands and pirates which were let loose upon the devoted population, and, finally, those terrible insurrections—the Taiping and Panthay revolts—which depopulated and laid waste great provinces and hundreds of flourishing cities, rivalling in the horrors which attended them the irruption of the Mongols under Genghis Khan. The barriers were, however, thrown down, and the Chinese, issuing from their seclusion, began to migrate in all directions into the lesser peopled portions of the globe. This new process had gone on for a few years only, when, from all the regions thus visited, arose the cry that the Chinese, whom it had cost so much to set free, must again, no matter at what cost, be dammed up in their own country, and denied all exit thence on any pretext whatsoever. All that the western world really wants with China is the liberty to trade with her people with an exclusive eye to its own pecuniary advantage, and it is not, therefore, surprising that we learn from Mr. Archibald Little that all that China wants from the western world is its implements of war and destruction, the more effectually to protect itself against the encroachments of the European trader.

Mr. Little presents in his own person a really admirable example of the type of mind which regards China simply and solely as a country to trade with. His particular aversion is the Christian missionary. He considers that his presence in China interferes grievously with the activity of trade. He would like to see all protection on the part of the western Powers withdrawn from this noxious individual, and the missionary handed over, naked and defenceless, to the tender mercies of the Chinese authorities. The magnanimous and self-sacrificing trader is, on the other hand, the real moral regenerator that Providence has provided for this people. Mr. Little's bitter aversion to the missionaries is all the more curious because, as he points out again and again, they make no converts and are held in supreme contempt by the Chinese of all classes, high and low. It cannot, therefore, be from fear of the missionaries that the Chinese Government is so anxious to obtain a supply of ironclads, breech-loading cannon, and magazine rifles. We must look elsewhere for an explanation of this, nor will it be difficult to find. Mr. Little reserves all his censure for the missionaries; he has not one word to say in condemnation of the opium traffic, or the infamous kidnapping of coolies which for so many years constituted the principal industry of the European merchants located at the Treaty Ports. These, however, are the aspects of western civilization with which the Chinese are most terribly familiar. These it is which have convinced them that unless they have force at their backs, nothing is to be expected from the justice or the humanity of the western world. If European trade is to breathe a new life into the people of China, it must appear before them in a very different guise and inspired by a very different spirit from that which has been the case hitherto.

The truth is, that it is the merest cant to talk of trade as animated by a single particle of the missionary spirit. There is nothing in the world more absolutely selfish than the spirit of money-getting, and to talk as if the Shanghai merchant were likely to succeed where the Christian missionary has failed, is to talk nonsense. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the Chinese Empire is in a bad way. The picture drawn of it by Mr. Little from personal observation has a curious resemblance to the pictures drawn by other travellers of the Asiatic portion of the Ottoman Empire. Like Asiatic Turkey, China is in a state of pitiful dilapidation. In the way of roads, quays, harbors, causeways, temples, and palaces, nothing that has once been erected appears to be ever subjected to repairs. The whole Empire is, so to speak, crumbling silently into ruin. The governing classes are not content with doing nothing in the way of repairs; they seem to have brief spasmodic fits of activity which are directed against improvements effected by others. Mr. Little has the following significant story to tell:

"The destruction of the little railroad that ran from Shanghai to Woosung in 1874 is an instance of the dogged resistance the officials make to any innovation too forcibly pressed upon them. The Chinese people themselves were delighted with this experimental railway of ten miles length, which united Shanghai to its port of Woosung, and the trains were crowded as long as they were allowed to run. The local authorities had, of course, given their consent, but the central Government had never been consulted. Sir Thomas Wade, unwisely in my opinion, allowed the Pekin officials to purchase the line, thinking they would then work it themselves. He did not understand the Chinese. No sooner bought than the line was pulled up and thrown into the sea, and Shanghai, the commercial capital of China—built up as it has been by foreign enterprise—is still dependent upon houseboats and a few steam launches for communication with its port of Woosung, distant by water fourteen miles. The road on which the rails were laid, and which for a time was used for a driving road, has been allowed to decay, and communication by land has again reverted to the old foot-paths."

An empire governed after this fashion is clearly in a hopeless condition. As with all Asiatics, the force of custom rules with irresistible power over the Chinese. Mental initiative has perished. A Chinaman never thinks of inquiring for the reason of a custom; the existence of the custom is the reason why it should be conformed to. The horrible tortures—the life-long deformity—to which women are subjected in order to force their feet into a revolting and abnormal shape, is a cardinal illustration of this stupid and perverse habit of mind. It is in strict keeping with this irrational imbecility that, while the sanitation of their towns is wholly disregarded, and the filth of the streets is something appalling, there should exist a special department for the purpose of collecting and burning all scraps of waste paper, the written character of the Chinese language being looked upon as too sacred to be trodden under foot of men. Similarly, the fortunes of a family, a village, or a town are absolutely determined by the site on which the family residence, the village, or the town has been erected. As Mr. Little points out, the origin of this superstition is, probably, traceable to the simple belief that the health of people was largely dependent upon the nature of the locality in which they passed their days. This, however, is now wholly forgotten, and the superstitious terror attaching to this question of site is a chief obstacle in the development of the vast mineral wealth of

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China. It is widely believed among the Chinese that such irreverent treatment of the earth as is involved in excavations for the purpose of discovering its hidden wealth, would react upon the sites of their villages and cities in a manner most disastrous.

The Chinese are less plentifully endowed with imagination than are other Asiatics; but this deficiency is not made up to them by a larger amount of the scientific reason. It is in their total privation of the scientific reason—the logical and investigating faculty—that the Chinese, like other Asiatics, are most strikingly distinguished from the western world. Life among them, social, moral, and intellectual, seems to be absolutely at a stand-still, or, as this is, perhaps, impossible, to be steadily corrupting. The irruption of the West has shattered the authority of the Government. The glare of western civilization has revealed, so to speak, the dry-rot that is eating away the fabric of Chinese civilization; but how to arrest the progress of decay has yet to be discovered.

The Social Influence of Christianity. (The Newton Lectures for 1887.) By David J. Hill, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 231. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 1888.

THIS is to some extent a work of apologetics—much more so than its title would suggest. To some extent, also, its aim is much the same as Mr. Brace's 'Gesta Christi,' reviewed some years ago in these columns, with this difference, that it is very largely occupied with present social problems. The second chapter, however, is evidently drawn from 'Gesta Christi' and similar works. There are eight chapters or ectures. The first two treat of general subjects dealing with historical influences and theories. They discuss human society, and the effect of Christianity upon it. The remaining six are upon the social problems of the day: labor, wealth, marriage, education, legislation, and repression or punishment—all aiming to present the influence of Christianity upon these several forces and institutions. The apologetic spirit in which the work proceeds comes from the assumption that Christianity must vindicate itself in this sphere, or suffer a diminution of its fairly won fame, and from the manner in which the author endeavors to state his case in favor of views accepted as Christian.

To trace the social influence of Christianity is a large task, and the author who comes to it should be qualified by a wide experience in the fields of history and philosophy. Dr. Hill's lectures betray no evidence that he has any such qualifications. They are merely a system of outlines such as might suggest the writing of a whole library upon the subject, but convey no adequate conception of it to those for whom they were meant. Brevity may be the soul of wit, but it will not expound and defend a philosophy or a religion. Just one example of Dr. Hill's inadequate treatment of large questions will suffice. The theories of Montesquieu, Condorcet, Kant, Quetelet, and Buckle are stated and disposed of in three small pages! In undertaking so large a subject, an author who has any respect for real scholarship, or who expects to impart any permanent and well-defined knowledge to his readers, would do well to omit much that is relevant, and even important, in the wider comprehension of his subject.

The most indispensable thing to an apologetic work of this kind is a clear and definite conception of Christianity. No attempt whatever is made to supply this want, unless we except one short sentence in a footnote (p. 162), where the author says: "I use 'Christianity' as a synonym with 'the influence of Jesus,' not as equivalent to the historical Church." But does he mean to say or to imply that the historical church is not due to the influence of Jesus? If so, one wonders to whom he will attribute the representation and embodiment of that influence. Outside of the historical Church it must be the free-thinkers. But this is a strange place for the theologian to locate Christianity. The fact is, that Dr. Hill knows very well that much which has been called Christianity has to be given up, and he chooses his conception of it with a view to making that concession. But if he persists in separating the Church and the influence of Jesus, he is shut up to the position that Christianity is *only* an ethical and social scheme—the very last admission which the author would make. We can readily admit the historical Church, with all its shortcomings, to be the representative of Christianity, and to be entitled to the merits of those great achievements which had their historical origin and moral impulse in the character of Christ. Only we should be careful to separate the chaff from the wheat. The social influence of Christianity has unquestionably been the best leaven of the last eighteen centuries. But, in order to vindicate it, it is not necessary to cling to that old mental attitude which drew an invidious line between Christianity and other influences really tending in the same direction, nor to suppose that everything which has received its protection must be free from fault.

Sketches of War History, 1861-1865. Papers read before the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Vols I., II., 8vo. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

THESE handsome volumes are made up of original contributions to the history of the civil war by officers who served in the campaigns of which they speak, and who are narrating facts of which they were eye-witnesses. Almost without exception the papers are temperate and serious efforts to throw new light upon the campaigns in which the writers served, and they speak well for the usefulness of the Loyal Legion as an historical society of no mean importance. The temptation at army reunions would naturally be to make comradeship and social enjoyment rule the hour, and it is a pleasure to note the fact that lapse of time since the war closed has evidently made this association of former officers of the army and navy feel that it is time to put into durable form the personal knowledge of the war which would otherwise die with them.

A mere glance at the titles will show how wide a range of experience is covered by the service of the men who meet in a single "commandery" of this association. Here we have the surrender of the United States troops in Texas under Twiggs at the outbreak of the rebellion, the battle of Winchester or Opequan, the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, Cumberland Gap, the Eleventh Corps at Chancellorsville, Early's advance upon Washington, West Virginia fighting in '62, the Red River expedition, Schofield's campaign from Pulaski to Nashville, the campaigns about Charleston, Canby's campaign in New Mexico, the campaign of Vicksburg, Marching through the Carolinas, the Cavalry campaign of Selma, the surrender of Johnston's army, etc. With these are interspersed recollections of prison life, of the medical service, of the organization of the military telegraph and service in it, and the like.

When it is remembered that these are records of actual experience, and not compilations from the records, it will be seen that, as material for systematic history in the future, they are invaluable, while they are also attractive and even fascinating reading in themselves.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Peep at our Cousins. By a Maid of Honor. 2d ed. The Minerva Publishing Co.
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Index to Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events. 1876 to 1887. D. Appleton & Co.
Irving, W. The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Esq. Author's revised edition. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
Johnson, R. A Short History of the War of Secession. 1861-1865. Boston: Ticknor & Co. $3.
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